

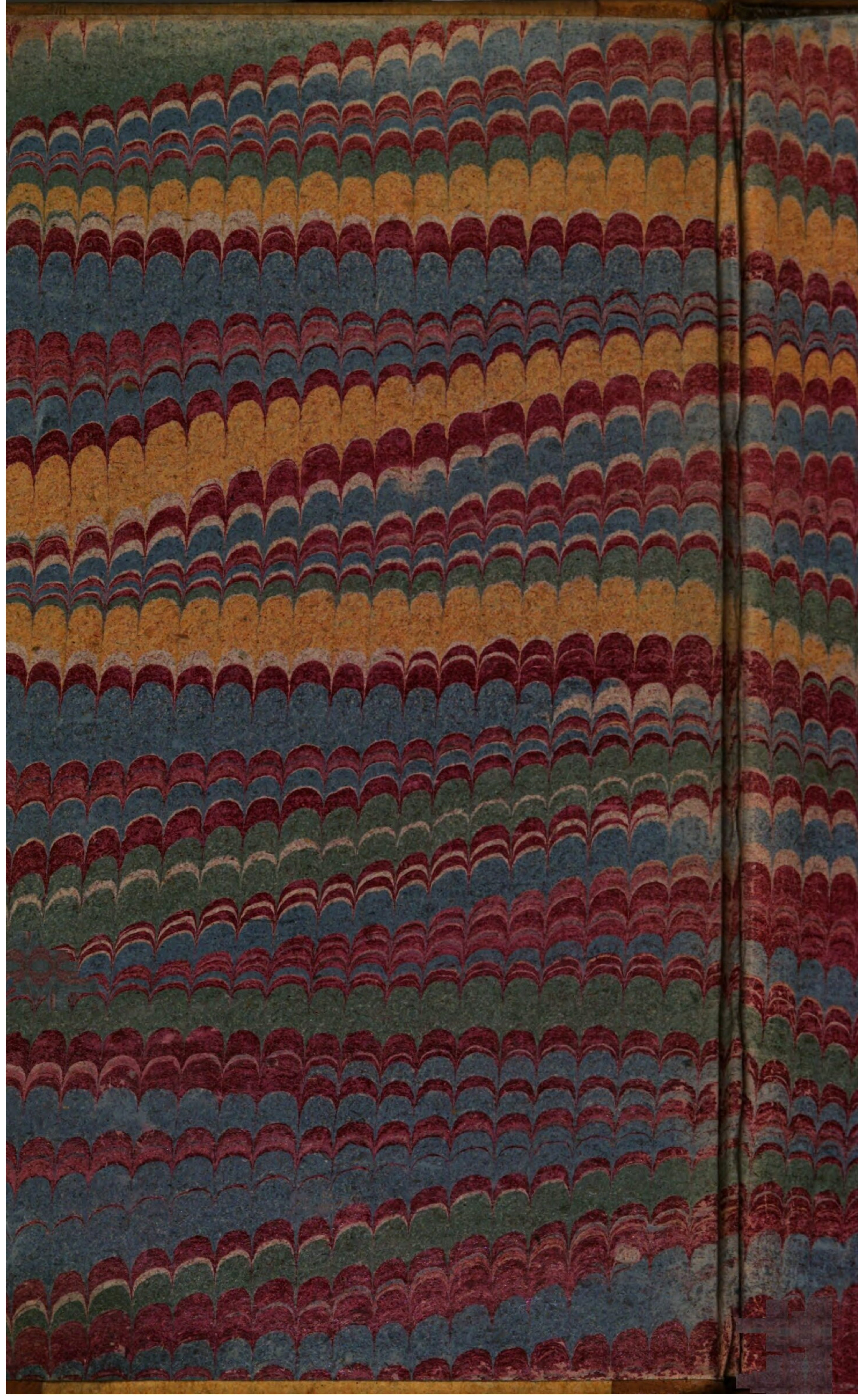
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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

FROM THE
INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO
The REVOLUTION in 1688.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. V.



BASIL:

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MDCCLXXXIX.

THE HISTORY

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C O N T E N T S.
O F T H E
F I F T H V O L U M E.

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HENRY VIII.

Popularity of the new king — His ministers — Punishment of Empson and Dudley — King's marriage — Foreign affairs — Julius II. — League of Cambray — War with France — Expedition to Fontarabia — Deceit of Ferdinand — Return of the English — Leo X. — A parliament — War with Scotland — Wolsey minister — His character — Invasion of France — Battle of Guinegate — Battle of Flouden — Peace with France.

THE death of Henry VII. had been attended with as open and visible a joy among the people as decency would permit; and the accession and coronation of his son, Henry VIII. spread univer-

2 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

C H A P. fully a declared and unfeigned satisfaction. Instead
XXVII. of a monarch, jealous, severe, and avaricious,
1509. who, in proportion as he advanced in years,
 Popularity of the new king. was sinking still deeper in those unpopular vices;
 a young prince of eighteen had succeeded to the
 throne, who, even in the eyes of men of sense,
 gave promising hopes of his future conduct,
 much more in those of the people, always en-
 charmed with novelty, youth and royal dignity.
 The beauty and vigor of his person, accompani-
 ed with dexterity in every manly exercise, was
 farther adorned with a blooming and ruddy
 countenance, with a lively air, with the appear-
 ance of spirit and activity in all his demeanour¹.
 His father, in order to remove him from the
 knowledge of public business, had hitherto oc-
 cupied him entirely in the pursuits of literature;
 and the proficiency which he made, gave no
 bad prognostic of his parts and capacity². Even
 the vices of vehemence, ardor, and impatience,
 to which he was subject, and which afterwards
 degenerated into tyranny, were considered only
 as faults, incident to unguarded youth, which
 would be corrected, when time had brought
 him to greater moderation and maturity. And
 as the contending titles of York and Lancaster
 were now at last fully united in his person, men
 justly expected from a prince, obnoxious to no
 party, that impartiality of administration, which
 had long been unknown in England.

¹ T. Mori. Lucubr. p. 182.

² Father Paul, lib. 1.

THESE favorable prepossessions of the public were encouraged by the measures which Henry embraced in the commencement of his reign. His grandmother, the countess of Richmond and Derby, was still alive; and as she was a woman much celebrated for prudence and virtue, he wisely showed great deference to her opinion in the establishment of his new council. The members were, Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and chancellor; the earl of Shrewsbury, steward; lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, master of the wards and constable of the Tower; Sir Edward Poynings, comptroller; Sir Henry Marney, afterwards lord Marney; Sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws; and Sir Henry Wyat³. These men had long been accustomed to business under the late king, and were the least unpopular of all the ministers employed by that monarch.

His minis-
ters.

BUT the chief competitors for favor and authority under the new king, were the earl of Surrey, treasurer, and Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy seal. This prelate, who enjoyed great credit during all the former reign, had acquired such habits of caution and frugality as he could not easily lay aside; and he still opposed, by his remonstrances, those schemes of dissipation and expence, which the youth and passions of Henry rendered agreeable to him. But Surrey was a more dexterous courtier; and though

³ Herbert, Stowe, p. 486. Hollingshed, pag. 799.

C H A P. few had borne a greater share in the frugal politics
 XXVII. of the late king, he knew how to conform him-
 1509. self to the humor of his new master; and no one
 was so forward in promoting that liberality,
 pleasure, and magnificence, which began to pre-
 vail under the young monarch⁴. By this policy
 he ingratiated himself with Henry; he made ad-
 vantage, as well as the other courtiers, of the
 lavish disposition of his master; and he engaged
 him in such a course of play and idleness as render-
 ed him negligent of affairs, and willing to intrust
 the government of the state entirely into the
 hands of his ministers. The great treasures am-
 assed by the late king, were gradually dissipated
 in the giddy expences of Henry. One party of
 pleasure succeeded to another: Tilts, tournaments
 and caroufals were exhibited with all the magni-
 ficence of the age: And as the present tranquil-
 lity of the public permitted the court to indulge
 itself in every amusement, serious business was
 but little attended to. Or if the king intermitted
 the course of his festivity, he chiefly employed
 himself in an application to music and literature,
 which were his favorite pursuits, and which
 were well adapted to his genius. He had made
 such proficiency in the former art, as even to
 compose some pieces of churchmusic which were
 sung in his chapel⁵. He was initiated in the
 elegant learning of the ancients. And though he
 was so unfortunate as to be seduced into a study

⁴ Lord Herbert.⁵ Ibid.

of the barren controversies of the Schools, which were then fashionable, and had chosen Thomas Aquinas for his favorite author, he still discovered a capacity fitted for more useful and entertaining knowledge.

C H A P.

XXVII.

1509.

THE frank and careless humor of the king, as it led him to dissipate the treasures, amassed by his father, rendered him negligent in protecting the instruments whom that prince had employed in his extortions. A proclamation being issued to encourage complaints, the rage of the people was let loose on all informers, who had so long exercised an unbounded tyranny over the nation⁶: They were thrown into prison, condemned to the pillory, and most of them lost their lives by the violence of the populace. Empson and Dudley, who were most exposed to public hatred, were immediately summoned before the council, in order to answer for their conduct, which had rendered them so obnoxious. Empson made a shrewd apology for himself, as well as for his associate. He told the council, that, so far from his being justly exposed to censure for his past conduct, his enemies themselves grounded their clamor on actions, which seemed rather to merit reward and approbation: That a strict execution of law was the crime, of which he and Dudley were accused; though that law had been established by general consent, and though they had acted

Punishment
of Empson
and Dudley.

⁶ Herbert, Stowe, p. 486. Hollingshed, p. 799.
Polyd. Virg. lib. 27.

C H A P. in obedience to the king, to whom the admini-
 XXVII. tration of justice was intrusted by the constitution:
 1509. That it belonged not to them, who were instru-
 ments in the hands of supreme power, to deter-
 mine what laws were recent or obsolete, expedient
 or hurtful; since they were all alike valid, so long
 as they remained unrepealed by the legislature:
 That it was natural for a licentious populace to
 murmur against the restraints of authority; but
 all wise states had ever made their glory consist
 in the just distribution of rewards and punishments,
 and had annexed the former to the observance
 and enforcement of the laws, the latter to their
 violation and infraction: And that a sudden over-
 throw of all government might be expected,
 where the judges were committed to the mercy
 of the criminals, the rulers to that of the subjects⁷.

NOTWITHSTANDING this defence, Empson and
 Dudley were sent to the Tower; and soon after
 brought to their trial. The strict execution of
 laws, however obsolete, could never be imputed
 to them as a crime in a court of judicature; and
 it is likely, that, even where they had exercised
 arbitrary power, the king, as they had acted by
 the secret commands of his father, was not wil-
 ling that their conduct should undergo too severe
 a scrutiny. In order, therefore, to gratify the
 people with the punishment of these obnoxious
 ministers, crimes very improbable, or indeed ab-
 solutely impossible, were charged upon them;

⁷ Herbert, Hollingshed, p. 804.

that they had entered into a conspiracy against the sovereign, and had intended, on the death of the late king, to have seized by force the administration of government. The jury were so far moved by popular prejudices, joined to court influence, as to give a verdict against them; which was afterwards confirmed by a bill of attainder in parliament^{*}, and, at the earnest desire of the people, was executed by warrant from the king. Thus, in those arbitrary times, justice was equally violated, whether the king sought power and riches, or courted popularity.

C H A P.
XXVII.
1509.

HENRY, while he punished the instruments of past tyranny, had yet such deference to former engagements as to deliberate, immediately after his accession, concerning the celebration of his marriage with the Infanta Catherine, to whom he had been affianced during his father's lifetime. Her former marriage with his brother, and the inequality of their years, were the chief objections, urged against his espousing her: But on the other hand, the advantages of her known virtue, mo-

King's marriage.

^{*} This parliament met on the 21st January, 1510. A law was there enacted, in order to prevent some abuses which had prevailed during the late reign. The forfeiture upon the penal statutes was reduced to the term of three years. Costs and damages were given against informers upon acquittal of the accused: More severe punishments were enacted against perjury: The false inquisitions procured by Empson and Dudley, were declared null and invalid. Traverses were allowed; and the time of tendering them enlarged. 1 H. 8. c. 8. 10, 11, 12.

C H A P.
XXVII.
1509.

deity, and sweetness of disposition were insisted on; the affection which she bore to the king; the large dowry to which she was entitled as princess of Wales; the interest of cementing a close alliance with Spain; the necessity of finding some confederate to counterbalance the power of France; the expediency of fulfilling the engagements of the late king. When these considerations were weighed, they determined the council, though contrary to the opinion of the primate, to give Henry their advice for celebrating the marriage. The countess of Richmond, who had concurred in the same sentiments with the council, died soon after the marriage of her grandson.

3d June

Foreign af-
fairs.

THE popularity of Henry's government, his undisputed title, his extensive authority, his large treasures, the tranquillity of his subjects, were circumstances which rendered his domestic administration easy and prosperous: The situation of foreign affairs was no less happy and desirable. Italy continued still, as during the late reign, to be the centre of all the wars and negotiations of the European princes; and Henry's alliance was courted by all parties; at the same time, that he was not engaged by any immediate interest or necessity to take part with any. Lewis XII. of France, after his conquest of Milan, was the only great prince that possessed any territory in Italy; and could he have remained in tranquillity, he was enabled by his situation to prescribe laws to all the Italian princes and republics, and to hold the balance among them. But the desire of

making a conquest of Naples, to which he had the same title or pretensions with his predecessor, still engaged him in new enterprises; and as he foresaw opposition from Ferdinand, who was connected both by treaties and affinity with Frederic of Naples, he endeavoured, by the offers of interest, to which the ears of that monarch were ever open, to engage him in an opposite confederacy. He settled with him a plan for the partition of the kingdom of Naples and the expulsion of Frederic: A plan, which the politicians of that age regarded as the most egregious imprudence in the French monarch, and the greatest perfidy in the Spanish. Frederic, supported only by subjects, who were either discontented with his government, or indifferent about his fortunes, was unable to resist so powerful a confederacy, and was deprived of his dominions: But he had the satisfaction to see Naples immediately prove the source of contention among his enemies. Ferdinand gave secret orders to his general, Gonsalvo, whom the Spaniards honor with the appellation of the *great captain*, to attack the armies of France, and make himself master of all the dominions of Naples. Gonsalvo prevailed in every enterprize, defeated the French in two pitched battles, and ensured to his prince the entire possession of that kingdom. Lewis, unable to procure redress by force of arms, was obliged to enter into a fruitless negociation with Ferdinand for the recovery of his share of the partition; and all Italy, during some time, was

C H A P.

XXVII.

1509.

C H A P. held in suspense between these two powerful
XXVII. monarchs.

1509.

THERE has scarcely been any period, when the balance of power was better secured in Europe, and seemed more able to maintain itself without any anxious concern or attention of the princes. Several great monarchies were established; and no one so far surpassed the rest as to give any foundation, or even pretence, for jealousy. England was united in domestic peace, and by its situation happily secured from the invasion of foreigners. The coalition of the several kingdoms of Spain had formed one powerful monarchy, which Ferdinand administered with arts, fraudulent indeed and deceitful, but full of vigor and ability. Lewis XII. a gallant and generous prince, had, by espousing Anne of Brittany, widow to his predecessor, preserved the union with that principality, on which the safety of his kingdom so much depended. Maximilian, the emperor, besides the hereditary dominions of the Austrian family, maintained authority in the empire, and notwithstanding the levity of his character, was able to unite the German princes in any great plan of interest, at least of defence. Charles, prince of Castile, grandson to Maximilian and Ferdinand, had already succeeded to the rich dominions of the house of Burgundy; and being as yet in early youth, the government was intrusted to Margaret of Savoy, his aunt, a princess endowed with signal prudence and virtue. The internal force of these several powerful states, by

balancing each other, might long have maintained general tranquillity, had not the active and enterprising genius of Julius II. an ambitious pontiff, first excited the flames of war and discord among them. By his intrigues, a league had been formed at Cambray⁹, between himself, Maximilian, Lewis, and Ferdinand; and the object of this great confederacy was to overwhelm, by their united arms, the commonwealth of Venice. Henry, without any motive from interest or passion, allowed his name to be inserted in the confederacy. This oppressive and iniquitous league was but too successful against the republic.

C H A P.
XXVII.

Julius II.

League of
Cambray.

THE great force and secure situation of the considerable monarchies prevented any one from aspiring to any conquest of moment; and though this consideration could not maintain general peace, or remedy the natural inquietude of men, it rendered the princes of this age more disposed to desert engagements and change their alliances, in which they were retained by humor and caprice, rather than by any natural or durable interest. Julius had no sooner humbled the Venetian republic, than he was inspired with a nobler ambition, that of expelling all foreigners from Italy, or, to speak in the stile affected by the Italians of that age, the freeing of that country entirely from the dominion of Barbarians¹⁰. He was determined to make the tempest fall first upon Lewis; and in order to pave the

1510.

⁹ In 1508.

¹⁰ Guicciard. lib. 8.

CHAP. way for this great enterprize, he at once fought
XXVII. for a ground of quarrel with that monarch, and
courted the alliance of other princes. He declared
war against the duke of Ferrara, the confederate
of Lewis. He solicited the favor of England, by
sending Henry a sacred rose, perfumed with musk
and anointed with chrism¹¹. He engaged in his
interests Bambridge, archbishop of York, and
Henry's ambassador at Rome, whom he soon
after created a cardinal. He drew over Ferdinand
to his party, though that monarch, at first,
made no declaration of his intentions. And what
he chiefly valued, he formed a treaty with the
Swiss cantons, who, enraged by some neglects
put upon them by Lewis, accompanied with
contumelious expressions, had quitted the alliance
of France, and waited for an opportunity of
revenging themselves on that nation.

1511.

WHILE the French monarch repelled the attacks
of his enemies, he thought it also requisite to make
an attempt on the pope himself, and to despoil
him, as much as possible, of that sacred character,
which chiefly rendered him formidable. He en-
gaged some cardinals, disgusted with the violence
of Julius, to desert him; and by their authority,
he was determined, in conjunction with Maximi-
lian, who still adhered to his alliance, to call a
general council, which might reform the church,
and check the exorbitancies of the Roman pontiff.
A council was summoned at Pisa, which from

¹¹ Spelman, Concil. vol. ii. p. 725.

C H A P.
XXVII.
1511.

the beginning bore a very inauspicious aspect, and promised little success to its adherents. Except a few French bishops, who unwillingly obeyed the king's commands in attending the council, all the other prelates kept aloof from an assembly, which they regarded as the offspring of faction, intrigue, and worldly politics. Even Pisa, the place of their residence, showed them signs of contempt; which engaged them to transfer their session to Milan, a city under the dominion of the French monarch. Notwithstanding this advantage, they did not experience much more respectful treatment from the inhabitants of Milan; and found it necessary to make another remove to Lyons¹². Lewis himself fortified these violent prejudices in favor of papal authority, by the symptoms, which he discovered, of regard, deference, and submission to Julius, whom he always spared, even when fortune had thrown into his hands the most inviting opportunities of humbling him. And as it was known, that his consort, who had great influence over him, was extremely disquieted in mind, on account of his dissensions with the holy father, all men prognosticated to Julius final success in this unequal contest.

THE enterprising pontiff knew his advantages, and availed himself of them with the utmost temerity and insolence. So much had he neglected his sacerdotal character, that he acted in person at the siege of Mirandola, visited the trenches,

¹² Guicciardini, lib. 10.

C H A P. saw some of his attendants killed by his side,
 XXVII. and, like a young foldier; cheerfully bore all the rigors of winter and a severe season, in pursuit of military glory¹³: Yet was he still able to throw, even on his most moderate opponents, the charge of impiety and profaneness. He summoned a council at the Lateran: He put Pisa under an interdict, and all the places which gave shelter to the schismatical council: He excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it: He even pointed his spiritual thunder against the princes who adhered to it: He freed their subjects from all oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to every one, who could take possession of them.

1512.

FERDINAND of Arragon, who had acquired the surname of Catholic, regarded the cause of the pope and of religion only as a cover to his ambition and selfish politics: Henry, naturally sincere and sanguine in his temper, and the more so on account of his youth and inexperience, was moved with a hearty desire of protecting the pope from the oppression, to which he believed him exposed from the ambitious enterprises of Lewis. Hopes had been given him by Julius, that the title of *most Christian King*, which had hitherto been annexed to the crown of France, and which was regarded as its most precious ornament, should, in reward of his services, be

¹³ Guicciardini, lib. 9.

transferred to that of England ¹⁴. Impatient also of acquiring that distinction in Europe, to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amidst the noise of arms; and the natural enmity of the English against France, as well as their ancient claims upon that kingdom, led Henry to join that alliance, which the pope, Spain, and Venice had formed against the French monarch. A herald was sent to Paris, to exhort Lewis not to wage impious war against the sovereign pontiff; and when he returned without success, another was sent to demand the ancient patrimonial provinces, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy. This message was understood to be a declaration of war; and a parliament, being summoned, readily granted supplies for a purpose so much favored by the English nation ¹⁵.

C H A P.
XXVII.
1512.

War with
France.
4th Febr.

BUONAVISO, an agent of the pope's at London, had been corrupted by the court of France, and had previously revealed to Lewis all the measures, which Henry was concerting against him. But this infidelity did the king inconsiderable prejudice, in comparison of the treachery, which he experienced from the selfish purposes of the ally, on whom he chiefly relied for assistance. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, had so long persevered in a course of crooked politics, that he began

¹⁴ Guicciard. lib. 11. P. Daniel, vol. ii. p. 1893. Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 831. ¹⁵ Herbert. Hollingshed, pag. 811.

C H A P.
XXVII.
1512.

Expedition
to Fontarabia.

even to value himself on his dexterity in fraud and artifice; and he made a boast of those shameful successes. Being told one day, that Lewis, a prince of a very different character, had complained of his having once cheated him: "he lies, the drunkard!" said he, "I have cheated him above twenty times." This prince considered his close connexions with Henry, only as the means which enabled him the better to take advantage of his want of experience. He advised him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it in his power to assist him: He exhorted him rather to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a conquest of Guienne, a province, in which, it was imagined, the English had still some adherents. He promised to assist this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army. And so forward did he seem to promote the interests of his son-in-law, that he even sent vessels to England, in order to transport over the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. The marquis of Dorset commanded this armament, which consisted of ten thousand men, mostly infantry; lord Howard, son of the earl of Surrey, lord Broke, lord Ferrars, and many others of the young gentry and nobility, accompanied him in this service. All were on fire to distinguish themselves by military achievements, and to make a conquest of importance for their master. The secret purpose of Ferdinand in this unexampled generosity was suspected by no body.

THE

THE small kingdom of Navarre lies on the frontiers between France and Spain; and as John d'Albert, the sovereign, was connected by friendship and alliance with Lewis, the opportunity seemed favorable to Ferdinand, while the English forces were conjoined with his own, and while all adherents to the council of Pisa lay under the sentence of excommunication, to put himself in possession of these dominions. No sooner, therefore, was Dorset landed in Guipuscoa, than the Spanish monarch declared his readiness to join him with his forces, to make with united arms an invasion of France, and to form the siege of Bayonne, which opened the way into Guienne¹⁶: But he remarked to the English general how dangerous it might prove to leave behind them the kingdom of Navarre, which, being in close alliance with France, could easily give admittance to the enemy, and cut off all communication between Spain and the combined armies. To provide against so dangerous an event, he required, that John should stipulate a neutrality in the present war; and when that prince expressed his willingness to enter into any engagement for that purpose, he also required, that security should be given for the strict observance of it. John having likewise agreed to this condition, Ferdinand demanded, that he should deliver into his hands six of the most considerable places of his dominions, together with his eldest son as a hostage.

C H A P.
XXVII.
1512.

¹⁶ Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 813.

C H A P. These were not terms to be proposed to a sovereign; and as the Spanish monarch expected a refusal, he gave immediate orders to the duke of Alva, his general, to make an invasion of Navarre, and to reduce that kingdom. Alva soon made himself master of all the smaller towns; and being ready to form the siege of Pampeluna, the capital, he summoned the marquis of Dorset to join him with the English army, and concert together all their operations.

**Deceit of
Ferdinand.**

DORSET began to suspect, that the interests of his master were very little regarded in all these transactions; and having no orders to invade the kingdom of Navarre, or make war any where but in France, he refused to take any part in the enterprize. He remained therefore in his quarters at Fontarabia; but so subtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand, that, even while the English army lay in that situation, it was almost equally serviceable to his purpose, as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented it from advancing to succour the kingdom of Navarre; so that Alva, having full leisure to conduct the siege, made himself master of Pampeluna, and obliged John to seek for shelter in France. The Spanish general applied again to Dorset, and proposed to conduct with united counsels the operations of the *holy league*, so it was called, against Lewis: But as he still declined forming the siege of Bayonne, and rather insisted on the invasion of the principality of Bearne, a part of

the king of Navarre's dominions, which lies on the French side of the Pyrenees, Dorset, justly suspicious of his sinister intentions, represented, that, without new orders from his master, he could not concur in such an undertaking. In order to procure these orders, Ferdinand dispatched Martin de Ampios to London; and persuaded Henry, that, by the refractory and scrupulous humor of the English general, the most favorable opportunities were lost, and that it was necessary he should, on all occasions, act in concert with the Spanish commander, who was best acquainted with the situation of the country, and the reasons of every operation. But before orders to this purpose reached Spain, Dorset had become extremely impatient; and observing that his farther stay served not to promote the main undertaking, and that his army was daily perishing by want and sickness, he demanded shipping from Ferdinand to transport them back into England. Ferdinand, who was bound by treaty to furnish him with this supply, whenever demanded, was at length, after many delays, obliged to yield to his importunity; and Dorset, embarking his troops, prepared himself for the voyage. Meanwhile, the messenger arrived with orders from Henry, that the troops should remain in Spain; but the soldiers were so discontented with the treatment which they had met with, that they mutinied, and obliged their commanders to set sail for England. Henry was much displeased with the ill success of this enterprise; and it was

C H A P.
XXVII.
1512.

Return of
the English;

CHAP. with difficulty, that Dorset, by explaining the
 XXVII. fraudulent conduct of Ferdinand, was at last able
 1512. to appease him.

THERE happened this summer an action at sea, which brought not any more decisive advantage to the English. Sir Thomas Knevet, master of horse, was sent to the coast of Brittany with a fleet of forty-five sail; and he carried with him Sir Charles Brandon, Sir John Carew, and many other young courtiers, who longed for an opportunity of displaying their valor. After they had committed some depredations, a French fleet of thirty-nine sail issued from Brest, under the command of Primauguet, and began an engagement with the English. Fire seized the ship of Primauguet, who, finding his destruction inevitable, bore down upon the vessel of the English admiral, and grappling with her, resolved to make her share his fate. Both fleets stood some time in suspense, as spectators of this dreadful engagement; and all men saw with horror the flames which consumed both vessels, and heard the cries of fury and despair, which came from the miserable combatants. At last, the French vessel blew up; and at the same time destroyed the English¹⁷. The rest of the French fleet made their escape into different harbours.

THE war, which England waged against France, though it brought no advantage to the

¹⁷ Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 490. Lanquet's Epitome of chronicles, fol. 273.

former kingdom, was of great prejudice to the latter; and by obliging Lewis to withdraw his forces for the defence of his own dominions, lost him that superiority, which his arms, in the beginning of the campaign, had attained in Italy. Gaston de Foix, his nephew, a young hero, had been intrusted with the command of the French forces; and in a few months performed such feats of military art and prowess, as were sufficient to render illustrious the life of the oldest captain¹⁸. His career finished with the great battle of Ravenna, which, after the most obstinate conflict, he gained over the Spanish and papal armies. He perished the very moment his victory was complete; and with him perished the fortune of the French arms in Italy. The Swiss, who had rendered themselves extremely formidable by their bands of disciplined infantry, invaded the Milanese with a numerous army, and raised up that inconstant people to a revolt against the dominion of France. Genoa followed the example of the dutchy; and thus Lewis, in a few weeks, entirely lost his Italian conquests, except some garrisons; and Maximilian Sforza, the son of Ludovic, was reinstated in possession of Milan.

JULIUS discovered extreme joy on the discomfiture of the French; and the more so, as he had been beholden for it to the Swiss, a people, whose councils, he hoped, he should always be

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¹⁸ Guicciard, lib. 10.

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21st Feb.

Leo X.

able to influence and govern. The pontiff survived this success a very little time; and in his place was chosen John de Medicis, who took the appellation of Leo X. and proved one of the most illustrious princes that ever sat on the papal throne. Humane, beneficent, generous, affable; the patron of every art, and friend of every virtue¹⁹; he had a soul no less capable of forming great designs than his predecessor, but was more gentle, pliant, and artful in employing means for the execution of them. The sole defect, indeed, of his character was too great finesse and artifice; a fault, which, both as a priest and an Italian, it was difficult for him to avoid. By the negociations of Leo, the emperor Maximilian was detached from the French interest; and Henry, notwithstanding his disappointments in the former campaign, was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against Lewis.

A parlia-
ment.

HENRY had summoned a new session of parliament²⁰, and obtained a supply for his enterprize. It was a polltax, and imposed different sums, according to the station and riches of the person. A duke payed ten marks, an earl five pounds, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks; every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, four marks. An imposition was also granted of two fifteenths and four tenths²¹. By these supplies, joined to the treasure, which had been left

¹⁹ Father Paul, lib. 1.

²⁰ 4th November, 1512.

²¹ Stowe.

by his father, and which was not yet entirely dissipated, he was enabled to levy a great army, and render himself formidable to his enemy. The English are said to have been much encouraged in this enterprize, by the arrival of a vessel in the Thames under the papal banner. It carried presents of wine and hams to the king, and the more eminent courtiers; and such fond devotion was at that time entertained towards the court of Rome, that these trivial presents were every where received with the greatest triumph and exultation.

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IN order to prevent all disturbances from Scotland, while Henry's arms should be employed on the continent, Dr. West, dean of Windsor, was dispatched on an embassy to James, the king's brother-in-law; and instructions were given him to accomodate all differences between the kingdoms, as well as to discover the intentions of the court of Scotland²². Some complaints had already been made on both sides. One Barton, a Scotchman, having suffered injuries from the Portugeze, for which he could obtain no redress, had procured letters of marque against that nation; but he had no sooner put to sea, than he was guilty of the grossest abuses, committed depredations upon the English, and much infested the narrow seas²³. Lord Howard and Sir Edward Howard, admirals, and sons of the earl of Surrey,

²² Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.
Hollingshed, p. 811.

²³ Stowe, p. 489.

[C H A P. failing out against him, fought him in a desperate
 XXVII. action, where the pirate was killed; and they
 1513. brought his ships into the Thames. As Henry
 refused all satisfaction for this act of justice, some
 of the borderers, who wanted but a pretence for
 depredations, entered England under the com-
 mand of lord Hume, warden of the marches,
 and committed great ravages on that kingdom.
 Notwithstanding these mutual grounds of dissatis-
 faction, matters might easily have been accom-
 modated, had it not been for Henry's intended
 invasion of France, which roused the jealousy of
 the Scottish nation²⁴. The ancient league, which
 subsisted between France and Scotland, was con-
 ceived to be the strongest band of connexion;
 and the Scots universally believed, that, were it
 not for the countenance which they received from
 this foreign alliance, they had never been able
 so long to maintain their independence against a
 people so much superior. James was farther in-
 cited to take part in the quarrel by the invitations
 of Anne, queen of France, whose knight he had
 ever in all tournaments professed himself, and who
 summoned him, according to the ideas of roman-
 tic gallantry, prevalent in that age, to take the
 field in her defence, and prove himself her true
 and valorous champion. The remonstrances of
 his consort and of his wisest counsellors were in
 vain opposed to the martial ardor of this prince.

War with
 Scotland.

²⁴ Buchanan, lib. 13. Drummond in the life of James IV.

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He first sent a squadron of ships to the assistance of France; the only fleet which Scotland seems ever to have possessed. And though he still made professions of maintaining a neutrality, the English ambassador easily foresaw, that a war would in the end prove inevitable; and he gave warning of the danger to his master, who sent the earl of Surrey to put the borders in a posture of defence, and to resist the expected invasion of the enemy.

HENRY, all on fire for military fame, was little discouraged by this appearance of a diversion from the north; and so much the less, as he flattered himself with the assistance of all the considerable potentates of Europe in his invasion of France. The pope still continued to thunder out his excommunications against Lewis, and all the adherents of the schismatical council: The Swiss cantons made professions of violent animosity against France: The ambassadors of Ferdinand and Maximilian had signed with those of Henry a treaty of alliance against that power, and had stipulated the time and place of their intended invasion: And though Ferdinand disavowed his ambassador, and even signed a truce for a twelve-month with the common enemy; Henry was not yet fully convinced of his selfish and sinister intentions, and still hoped for his concurrence after the expiration of that term. He had now got a minister who complied with all his inclinations, and flattered him in every scheme, to which his sanguine and impetuous temper was inclined.

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Wolsey minister.

THOMAS WOLSEY, dean of Lincoln, and almoner to the king, surpassed in favor all his ministers, and was fast advancing towards that unrivalled grandeur, which he afterwards attained. This man was son of a butcher at Ipswich; but having got a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the marquis of Dorset's family as tutor to that nobleman's children, and soon gained the friendship and countenance of his patron²⁵. He was recommended to be chaplain to Henry VII. and being employed by that monarch in a secret negociation, which regarded his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter, he acquitted himself to the king's satisfaction, and obtained the praise both of diligence and dexterity in his conduct²⁶. That prince, having given him a commission to Maximilian, who at that time resided in Brussels, was surprised, in less than three days after, to see Wolsey present himself before him; and supposing that he had protracted his departure, he began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders. Wolsey informed him, that he had just returned from Brussels, and had successfully fulfilled all his majesty's commands. "But on second thoughts," said the king, "I found that somewhat was omitted in your orders; and have sent a messenger after you,

²⁵ Stowe, p. 997.
Wolsey. Stowe.

²⁶ Cavendish. Fiddes's life of

“ with fuller instructions. ” “ I met the messenger, ” replied Wolsey, “ on my return : But as I had reflected on that omission, I ventured of myself to execute what, I knew, must be your majesty’s intentions. ” The death of Henry, soon after this incident, retarded the advancement of Wolsey, and prevented his reaping any advantage from the good opinion, which that monarch had entertained of him : But thenceforwards he was looked on at court as a rising man ; and Fox, bishop of Winchester, cast his eye upon him as one, who might be serviceable to him in his present situation ²⁷. This prelate, observing that the earl of Surrey had totally eclipsed him in favor, resolved to introduce Wolsey to the young prince’s familiarity, and hoped, that he might rival Surrey in his insinuating arts, and yet be content to act in the cabinet a part subordinate to Fox himself, who had promoted him. In a little time, Wolsey gained so much on the king, that he supplanted both Surrey in his favor, and Fox in his trust and confidence. Being admitted to Henry’s parties of pleasure, he took the lead in every jovial conversation, and promoted all that frolic and entertainment, which he found suitable to the age and inclination of the young monarch. Neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character of a clergyman, were any restraint upon him, or engaged him to check, by any useless severity

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²⁷ Antiq. Brit. Eccles. p. 309. Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

C H A P. the gaiety , in which Henry, who had small
 XXVII. propension to debauchery , passed his careless
 1513. hours. During the intervals of amusements he
 introduced business, and insinuated those maxims
 of conduct which he was desirous his master
 should adopt. He observed to him, that, while
 he intrusted his affairs into the hands of his
 father's counsellors, he had the advantage indeed
 of employing men of wisdom and experience,
 but men who owed not their promotion to his
 favor , and who scarcely thought themselves
 accountable to him for the exercise of their
 authority : That by the factions and cabals, and
 jealousies which had long prevailed among them,
 they more obstructed the advancement of his
 affairs, than they promoted it by the knowledge,
 which age and practice had conferred upon them:
 That while he thought proper to pass his time
 in those pleasures , to which his age and royal
 fortune invited him, and in those studies, which
 would in time enable him to sway the sceptre
 with absolute authority , his best system of
 government would be to intrust his authority
 into the hands of some one person , who was
 the creature of his will, and who could entertain
 no view but that of promoting his service: And
 that if this minister had also the same relish for
 pleasure with himself , and the same taste for
 science , he could more easily , at intervals ,
 account to him for his whole conduct , and
 introduce his master gradually into the know-
 ledge of public business , and thus , without

tedious constraint or application, initiate him in the science of government ²⁸.

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HENRY entered into all the views of Wolsey; and finding no one so capable of executing this plan of administration as the person who proposed it, he soon advanced his favorite, from being the companion of his pleasures, to be a member of his council; and from being a member of his council, to be his sole and absolute minister. By this rapid advancement and uncontrouled authority, the character and genius of Wolsey had full opportunity to display itself. Infatiable in his acquisitions but still more magnificent in his expence: Of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded enterprise: Ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory: Insinuating, engaging, persuasive; and, by turns, lofty, elevated, commanding: Haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; less moved by injuries than by contempt; he was framed to take the ascendant in every intercourse with others, but exerted this superiority of *nature* with such ostentation as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recal the original inferiority or rather meanness of his *fortune*.

His character.

THE branch of administration, in which Henry most exerted himself, while he gave his entire confidence to Wolsey, was the military,

²⁸ Cavendish, p. 12. Stowe, P. 499.

CHAP. which, as it suited the natural gallantry and
 XXVII. bravery of his temper, as well as the ardor of
 1513. his youth, was the principal object of his atten-
 tion. Finding that Lewis had made great prepara-
 tions both by sea and land to resist him, he was
 no less careful to levy a formidable army, and
 equip a considerable fleet for the invasion of
 France. The command of the fleet was intrusted
 to Sir Edward Howard: who, after scouring the
 channel for some time, presented himself before
 Brest, where the French navy then lay; and he
 challenged them to a combat. The French
 admiral, who expected from the Mediterranean
 a reinforcement of some gallies under the com-
 mand of Prejeant de Bidoux, kept within the
 harbour, and saw with patience the English
 burn and destroy the country in the neighbour-
 hood. At last Prejeant arrived with six gallies,
 and put into Conquet, a place within a few
 leagues of Brest; where he secured himself behind
 some batteries, which he had planted on rocks,
 25th April. that lay on each side of him. Howard was,
 notwithstanding, determined to make an attack
 upon him; and as he had but two gallies, he
 took himself the command of one, and gave the
 other to lord Ferrars. He was followed by some
 row-barges and some crayers under the command
 of Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir William Sidney,
 and other officers of distinction. He immediately
 fastened on Prejeant's ship, and leaped on board
 of her, attended by one Carroz, a Spanish ca-
 valier, and seventeen Englishmen, The cable,

meanwhile, which fastened his ship to that of the enemy, being cut, the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; and as he still continued the combat with great gallantry, he was pushed overboard by their pikes²⁹, Lord Ferrars, seeing the admiral's galley fall off, followed with the other small vessels; and the whole fleet was so discouraged by the loss of their commander; that they retired from before Brest³⁰. The French navy came out of harbour; and even ventured to invade the coast of Sussex. They were repulsed, and Prejeant, their commander, lost an eye by the shot of an arrow. Lord Howard, brother to the deceased admiral, succeeded to the command of the English fleet; and little memorable passed at sea during this summer.

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GREAT preparations had been making at land, during the whole winter, for an invasion on France by the way of Calais; but the summer was well advanced before every thing was in sufficient readiness for the intended enterprise. The long peace which the kingdom had enjoyed, had somewhat unfitted the English for military

²⁹ It was a maxim of Howard's, that no admiral was good for any thing, that was not brave even to a degree of madness. As the sea-service requires much less plan and contrivance and capacity than the land, this maxim has great plausibility and appearance of truth: Though the fate of Howard himself may serve as a proof that even there courage ought to be tempered with discretion.

³⁰ Stowe, p. 491. Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 816.

C H A P. XXVII. 1513. expeditions; and the great change, which had lately been introduced in the art of war, had rendered it still more difficult to enure them to the use of the weapons now employed in action. The Swifs, and after them the Spaniards, had shown the advantage of a stable infantry, who fought with pike and sword, and were able to repulse even the heavy-armed cavalry, in which the great force of the armies formerly consisted. The practice of fire-arms was become common; though the caliver, which was the weapon now in use, was so inconvenient, and attended with so many disadvantages, that it had not entirely discredited the bow, a weapon in which the English excelled all European nations. A considerable part of the forces, which Henry levied for the invasion of France, consisted of archers; and as soon as affairs were in readiness, the vanguard of the army, amounting to 8000 men, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, sailed over to Calais. Shrewsbury was accompanied by the earl of Derby, the lords Fitzwater, Hastings, Cobham, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horse. Another body of 6000 men soon after followed under the command of lord Herbert, the chamberlain, attended by the earls of Northumberland and Kent, the lords Audley and Delawar, together with Carew, Curson, and other gentlemen. THE king himself prepared to follow with the main body and rear of the army; and he appointed the queen regent of the kingdom during

during his absence. That he might secure her administration from all disturbance, he ordered Edmond de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, to be beheaded in the Tower, the nobleman who had been attainted and imprisoned during the late reign. Henry was led to commit this act of violence by the dying commands, as is imagined, of his father, who told him, that he never would be free from danger, while a man of so turbulent a disposition as Suffolk was alive. And as Richard de la Pole, brother of Suffolk, had accepted of a command in the French service, and foolishly attempted to revive the York faction, and to instigate them against the present government, he probably, by that means, drew more suddenly the king's vengeance on this unhappy nobleman.

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At last, Henry, attended by the duke of Buckingham and many others of the nobility, arrived at Calais, and entered upon his French expedition, from which he fondly expected so much success and glory³¹. Of all those allies, on whose assistance he relied, the Swiss alone fully performed their engagements. Being put in motion by a sum of money sent them by Henry, and incited by their victories obtained in Italy, and by their animosity against France, they were preparing to enter that kingdom with an army of twenty-five thousand men; and no equal force could be opposed to their incursion.

30th June

Invasion of
France.

³¹ Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Belcarius, lib. 14.

C H A P. XXVII. 1513. Maximilian had received an advance of 120,000 crowns from Henry, and had promised to reinforce the Swiss with 8000 men, but failed in his engagements. That he might make atonement to the king, he himself appeared in the Low Countries, and joined the English army with some German and Flemish soldiers, who were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new levied forces. Observing the disposition of the English monarch to be more bent on glory than on interest, he enlisted himself in his service, wore the cross of St. George, and received pay, a hundred crowns a day, as one of his subjects and captains. But while he exhibited this extraordinary spectacle, of an emperor of Germany serving under a king of England, he was treated with the highest respect by Henry, and really directed all the operations of the English army.

BEFORE the arrival of Henry and Maximilian in the camp, the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Herbert had formed the siege of Teroüane, a town situated on the frontiers of Picardy; and they began to attack the place with vigor. Teligni and Crequi commanded in the town, and had a garrison not exceeding two thousand men; yet made they such stout resistance as protracted the siege a month; and they at last found themselves more in danger from want of provisions and ammunition, than from the assaults of the besiegers. Having conveyed intelligence of their situation to Lewis, who had advanced

to Amiens with his army, that prince gave orders to throw relief into the place. Fontrailles appeared at the head of 800 horsemen, each of whom carried a sack of gunpowder behind him, and two quarters of bacon. With this small force he made a sudden and unexpected irruption into the English camp, and surmounting all resistance, advanced to the fosse of the town, where each horseman threw down his burden. They immediately returned at the gallop, and were so fortunate as again to break through the English, and to suffer little or no loss in this dangerous attempt ³².

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But the English had, soon after, full revenge for the insult. Henry had received intelligence of the approach of the French horse, who had advanced to protect another incursion of Fontrailles; and he ordered some troops to pass the Lis, in order to oppose them. The cavalry of France, though they consisted chiefly of gentlemen, who had behaved with great gallantry in many desperate actions in Italy, were, on sight of the enemy, seized with so unaccountable a panic, that they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the English. The duke of Longueville, who commanded the French, Buffi d'Amboise, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of distinction, were made prisoners ³³. This action,

Battle of
Guinegate.

³² Hist. du Chev. Bayard, chap. 57. Mémoires de Bellai. ³³ Mémoires de Bellai, liv. 1. Polydore Virgil, liv. 27. Hollingshed, p. 822. Herbert.

C H A P or rather rout, is sometimes called the battle of
XXVII. Guinegate, from the place where it was fought;
1513. but more commonly the *Battle of Spurs*, because
the French, that day, made more use of their
spurs than of their swords or military weapons.

AFTER so considerable an advantage, the king, who was at the head of a complete army of above 50,000 men, might have made incursions to the gates of Paris, and spread confusion and desolation every where. It gave Lewis great joy, when he heard, that the English, instead of pushing their victory, and attacking the dismayed troops of France, returned to the siege of so inconsiderable a place as Teroüane. The governors were obliged soon after to capitulate; and Henry found his acquisition of so little moment, though gained at the expence of some blood, and what, in his present circumstances, was more important, of much valuable time, that he immediately demolished the fortifications. The anxieties of the French were again revived with regard to the motions of the English. The Swiss at the same time had entered Burgundy with a formidable army, and laid siege to Dijon, which was in no condition to resist them. Ferdinand himself, though he had made a truce with Lewis, seemed disposed to lay hold of every advantage which fortune should present to him. Scarcely ever was the French monarchy in greater danger, or less in a condition to defend itself against those powerful armies, which on every side assailed or threatened it. Even many of the inhabitants of Paris, who

believed themselves exposed to the rapacity and violence of the enemy, began to dislodge, without knowing what place could afford them greater security.

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But Lewis was extricated from his present difficulties by the manifold blunders of his enemies. The Swifs allowed themselves to be seduced into a negociation by Tremoille, governor of Burgundy; and without making inquiry, whether that nobleman had any powers to treat, they accepted of the conditions which he offered them. Tremoille, who knew that he should be disavowed by his master, stipulated whatever they were pleased to demand; and thought himself happy, at the expence of some payments, and very large promises, to get rid of so formidable an enemy³⁴.

THE measures of Henry showed equal ignorance in the art of war with that of the Swifs in negociation. Tournay was a great and rich city, which, though it lay within the frontiers of Flanders, belonged to France, and afforded the troops of that kingdom a passage into the heart of the Netherlands. Maximilian, who was desirous of freeing his grandson from so troublesome a neighbour, advised Henry to lay siege to the place; and the English monarch, not considering that such an acquisition nowise advanced his conquests in France, was so imprudent as to follow this interested counsel. The city of Tournay, by

³⁴ Mémoires du maréchal de Fleuranges, Belcarius, lib. 14.

CHAP. its ancient charters, being exempted from the
 XXVII. burthen of a garrison, the burghers, against the
 1513. remonstrance of their sovereign, strenuously in-
 sisted on maintaining this dangerous privilege;
 and they engaged, by themselves, to make a
 vigorous defence against the enemy³⁵. Their
 courage failed them when matters came to trial;
 and after a few days siege, the place was surren-
 24th Sept. dered to the English. The bishop of Tournay was
 lately dead; and as a new bishop was already
 elected by the chapter, but not installed in his
 office, the king bestowed the administration of the
 see on his favorite, Wolsey, and put him in im-
 mediate possession of the revenues, which were
 considerable³⁶. Hearing of the retreat of the Swiss;
 and observing the season to be far advanced, he
 thought proper to return to England; and he
 carried the greater part of his army with him.
 Success had attended him in every enterprise; and
 his youthful mind was much elated with this
 seeming prosperity; but all men of judgment,
 comparing the advantages of his situation with
 his progress, his expence with his acquisitions,
 were convinced, that this campaign, so much
 vaunted, was, in reality, both ruinous and in-
 glorious to him³⁷.

THE success, which, during this summer, had
 attended Henry's arms in the North, was much
 more decisive. The king of Scotland had assembled

³⁵ Mémoires de Fleuranges.
 vol. i. p. 5, 6.

³⁶ Strype's Memorials,
³⁷ Guicciardini.

the whole force of his kingdom; and having passed the Tweed with a brave, though a tumultuary army of above 50,000 men, he ravaged those parts of Northumberland which lay nearest that river, and he employed himself in taking the castles of Norham, Etal, Werke, Ford, and other places of small importance. Lady Ford, being taken prisoner in her castle, was presented to James, and so gained on the affections of that prince, that he wasted in pleasure the critical time, which, during the absence of his enemy, he should have employed in pushing his conquests. His troops, lying in a barren country, where they soon consumed all the provisions, began to be pinched with hunger; and as the authority of the prince was feeble, and military discipline, during that age, extremely relaxed, many of them had stolen from the camp, and retired homewards. Meanwhile, the earl of Surrey, having collected a force of 26,000 men, of which 5000 had been sent over from the king's army in France, marched to the defence of the country, and approached the Scots, who lay on some high ground near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till ran between the armies, and prevented an engagement: Surrey therefore sent a herald to the Scottish camp, challenging the enemy to descend into the plain of Milfield, which lay towards the south; and there, appointing a day for the combat, to try their valor on equal ground. As he received no satisfactory answer, he made a feint of marching

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C H A P. towards Berwick; as if he intended to enter Scot-
 XXVII. land, to lay waste the borders, and cut off the
 1513. provisions of the enemy. The Scottish army, in
 order to prevent his purpose, put themselves in
 motion; and having set fire to the huts in which
 they had quartered, they descended from the hills.
 Surrey, taking advantage of the smoke, which
 was blown towards him, and which concealed his
 movements, passed the Till with his artillery and
 vanguard at the bridge of Twisel, and sent the
 rest of his army to seek a ford higher up the river.

9th Sept.

Battle of
Flouden.

AN engagement was now become inevitable, and both sides prepared for it with tranquillity and order³⁸. The English divided their army into two lines: Lord Howard led the main body of the first line, Sir Edmond Howard the right wing, Sir Marmaduke Constable the left. The earl of Surrey himself commanded the main body of the second line, lord Dacres the right wing, Sir Edward Stanley the left. The front of the Scots presented three divisions to the enemy: The middle was led by the king himself: The right by the earl of Huntley, assisted by lord Hume: The left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle. A fourth division under the earl of Bothwell made a body of reserve. Huntley began the battle; and after a sharp conflict, put to flight the left wing of the English, and chased them off the field: But on returning from the pursuit, he found

³⁸ Buchanan, lib. 13. Drummond. Herbert. Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 493. Paulus Jovius.

the whole Scottish army in great disorder. The division under Lenox and Argyle, elated with the success of the other wing, had broken their ranks, and notwithstanding the remonstrances and entreaties of La Motte, the French ambassador, had rushed headlong upon the enemy. Not only Sir Edmond Howard, at the head of his division, received them with great valor; but Dacres, who, commanded in the second line, wheeling about during the action, fell upon their rear, and put them to the sword without resistance. The division under James and that under Bothwell, animated by the valor of their leaders, still made head against the English, and throwing themselves into a circle, protracted the action, till night separated the combatants. The victory seemed yet undecided, and the numbers that fell on each side, were nearly equal, amounting to above 5000 men: But the morning discovered where the advantage lay. The English had lost only persons of small note; but the flower of the Scottish nobility had fallen in battle, and their king himself, after the most diligent inquiry, could no where be found. In searching the field, the English met with a dead body, which resembled him, and was arrayed in a similar habit; and they put it in a leaden coffin, and sent it to London. During some time it was kept unburied; because James died under sentence of excommunication, on account of his confederacy with France, and his opposition to the holy see³⁹: But upon Henry's application,

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³⁹ Buchanan, lib. 13. Herbert.

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1514. who pretended that this prince had, in the instant before his death, discovered signs of repentance, absolution was given him, and his body was interred. The Scots, however, still asserted, that it was not James's body, which was found on the field of battle, but that of one Elphinston, who had been arrayed in arms resembling their king's, in order to divide the attention of the English, and share the danger with his master. It was believed that James had been seen crossing the Tweed at Kelso; and some imagined that he had been killed by the vassals of lord Hume, whom that nobleman had instigated to commit so enormous a crime. But the populace entertained the opinion that he was still alive, and having secretly gone in pilgrimage to the holy land, would soon return, and take possession of the throne. This fond conceit was long entertained among the Scots.

THE king of Scotland and most of his chief nobles being slain in the field of Flouden, so this battle was called, an inviting opportunity was offered to Henry of gaining advantages over that kingdom, perhaps of reducing it to subjection. But he discovered on this occasion a mind truly great and generous. When the queen of Scotland, Margaret, who was created regent during the infancy of her son, applied for peace, he readily granted it; and took compassion of the helpless condition of his sister and nephew. The earl of Surrey, who had gained him so great a victory, was restored to the title of duke of Norfolk,

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which had been forfeited by his father, for engaging on the side of Richard III. Lord Howard was honored with the title of earl of Surrey. Sir Charles Brandon the king's favorite, whom he had before created viscount Lisle, was now raised to the dignity of duke of Suffolk. Wolsey, who was both his favorite and his minister, was created bishop of Lincoln. Lord Herbert obtained the title of earl of Worcester. Sir Edward Stanley, that of lord Monteagle.

THOUGH peace with Scotland gave Henry security on that side, and enabled him to prosecute in tranquillity his enterprise against France, some other incidents had happened, which more than counterbalanced this fortunate event, and served to open his eyes with regard to the rashness of an undertaking, into which his youth and high fortune had betrayed him.

LEWIS, fully sensible of the dangerous situation, to which his kingdom had been reduced during the former campaign, was resolved, by every expedient, to prevent the return of like perils, and to break the confederacy of his enemies. The pope was nowise disposed to push the French to extremity, and provided they did not return to take possession of Milan, his interests rather led him to preserve the balance among the contending parties. He accepted, therefore, of Lewis's offer to renounce the council of Lyons; and he took off the excommunication, which his predecessor and himself had fulminated against that king and his kingdom. Ferdinand was now

C H A P. fast declining in years; and as he entertained no
XXVII. farther ambition than that of keeping possession
1514. of Navarre, which he had subdued by his arms
and policy, he readily hearkened to the proposals
of Lewis for prolonging the truce another year;
and he even showed an inclination of forming a
more intimate connexion with that monarch.
Lewis had dropped hints of his intention to marry
his second daughter, Renée, either to Charles,
prince of Spain, or his brother, Ferdinand, both
of them grandsons of the Spanish monarch; and
he declared his resolution of bestowing on her,
as her portion, his claim to the dutchy of Milan.
Ferdinand not only embraced these proposals with
joy; but also engaged the emperor, Maximilian,
in the same views, and procured his accession to
a treaty, which opened so inviting a prospect of
aggrandizing their common grandchildren.

WHEN Henry was informed of Ferdinand's
renewal of the truce with Lewis, he fell into a
violent rage, and loudly complained, that his
father-in-law had first, by high promises and
professions, engaged him in enmity with France,
and afterwards, without giving him the least
warning, had now again sacrificed his interests to
his own selfish purposes, and had left him exposed
alone to all the danger and expence of the war.
In proportion to his easy credulity and his un-
suspecting reliance on Ferdinand was the vehe-
mence with which he exclaimed against the treat-
ment which he met with; and he threatened revenge

for this egregious treachery and breach of faith⁴⁰. But he lost all patience when informed of the other negociation, by which Maximilian was also seduced from his alliance, and in which proposals had been agreed to, for the marriage of the prince of Spain with the daughter of France. Charles, during the lifetime of the late king, had been affianced to Mary, Henry's younger sister; and as the prince now approached the age of puberty, the king had expected the immediate completion of the marriage, and the honorable settlement of a sister, for whom he had entertained a tender affection. Such a complication, therefore, of injuries gave him the highest displeasure, and inspired him with a desire of expressing his disdain towards those who had imposed on his youth and inexperience, and had abused his too great facility.

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THE duke of Longueville, who had been made prisoner at the battle of Guinegate, and who was still detained in England, was ready to take advantage of all these dispositions of Henry, in order to procure a peace and even an alliance, which he knew to be passionately desired by his master. He represented to the king, that Anne, queen of France, being lately dead, a door was thereby opened for an affinity, which might tend to the advantage of both kingdoms, and which would serve to terminate honorably all the differences between them: That she had left Lewis no male children; and as he had ever entertained

⁴⁰ Petrus de Angleria Epist. 545, 546.

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a strong desire of having heirs to the crown, no marriage seemed more suitable to him than that with the princess of England, whose youth and beauty afforded the most flattering hopes in that particular: That though the marriage of a princess of sixteen, with a king of fifty-three, might seem unsuitable; yet the other advantages, attending the alliance, were more than a sufficient compensation for this inequality: And that Henry, in loosening his connexions with Spain, from which he had never reaped any advantage, would contract a close affinity with Lewis, a prince, who, through his whole life, had invariably maintained the character of probity and honor.

Peace with
France.
7th August.

As Henry seemed to hearken to this discourse with willing ears, Longueville informed his master of the probability, which he discovered, of bringing the matter to a happy conclusion; and he received full powers for negotiating the treaty. The articles were easily adjusted between the monarchs. Lewis agreed that Tournay should remain in the hands of the English; that Richard de la Pole should be banished to Metz, there to live on a pension assigned him by Lewis; that Henry should receive payment of a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himself; and that the princess Mary should bring four hundred thousand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France, even the former, who was heiress of Brittany. The two princes also agreed on the succours, with which they should mutually supply

each other, in case either of them were attacked by an enemy ⁴¹. C H A P. XXVII.

IN consequence of this treaty, Mary was sent over to France with a splendid retinue, and Lewis met her at Abbeville, where the espousals were celebrated. He was enchanted with the beauty, grace, and numerous accomplishments of the young princess; and being naturally of an amorous disposition, which his advanced age had not entirely cooled, he was seduced into such a course of gaiety and pleasure, as proved very unsuitable to his declining state of health ⁴². He died in less than three months after the marriage, to the extreme regret of the French nation, who sensible of his tender concern for their welfare, gave him with one voice the honorable appellation of *father of his people*. 9th Octob. 1515. 1st Jan.

FRANCIS, duke of Angouleme, a youth of one and twenty, who had married Lewis's elder daughter, succeeded him on the throne; and by his activity, valor, generosity, and other virtues, gave prognostics of a happy and glorious reign. This young monarch had been extremely struck with the charms of the English princess; and even during his predecessor's life-time, had payed her such assiduous court, as made some of his friends apprehend, that he had entertained views of gallantry towards her. But being warned, that, by indulging this passion, he might probably exclude himself from the throne, he forbore all

⁴¹ Du Tillet.

⁴² Brantome, Eloge de Louis XII.

C H A P. farther addressees; and even watched the young
XXVII. dowager with a very careful eye during the first
1515. months of her widowhood. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was at that time in the court of France, the most comely personage of his time, and the most accomplished in all the exercises, which were then thought to besit a courtier and a foldier. He was Henry's chief favorite; and that monarch had even once entertained thoughts of marrying him to his sister, and had given indulgence to the mutual passion, which took place between them. The queen asked Suffolk, whether he had now the courage, without farther reflection, to espouse her; and she told him, that her brother would more easily forgive him for not asking his consent, than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk declined not so inviting an offer; and their nuptials were secretly celebrated at Paris. Francis, who was pleased with this marriage, as it prevented Henry from forming any powerful alliance by means of his sister⁴³, interposed his good offices in appeasing him: And even Wolsey, having entertained no jealousy of Suffolk, who was content to participate in the king's pleasures, and had no ambition to engage in public business, was active in reconciling the king to his sister and brother-in-law; and he obtained them permission to return to England.

⁴³ Petrus de Angleria, Epist. 544.

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Wolsey's administration — Scotch affairs — Progress of Francis I. — Jealousy of Henry — Tournay delivered to France — Wolsey appointed legate — His manner of exercising that office — Death of the emperor Maximilian — Charles, king of Spain, chosen emperor — Interview between Henry and Francis near Calais — The emperor Charles arrives in England — Mediation of Henry — Trial and condemnation of the duke of Buckingham.

THE numerous enemies, whom Wolsey's sudden elevation, his aspiring character, and his haughty deportment had raised him, served only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence; who valued himself on supporting the choice which he had made, and who was incapable of yielding either to the murmurs of the people or to the discontents of the great. That artful prelate likewise, well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, concealed from him the absolute ascendant, which he had acquired; and while he secretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended a blind submission to the will and authority of his master. By entering into the king's pleasures, he preserved his affection; by conducting his business, he gratified his indolence; and by his unlimited complaisance in both capacities, he prevented all that

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Wolsey's
administra-
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jealousy, to which his exorbitant acquisitions, and his splendid ostentatious train of life should naturally have given birth. The archbishopric of York falling vacant by the death of Bambridge, Wolsey was promoted to that see, and resigned the bishopric of Lincoln. Besides enjoying the administration of Tournay, he got possession, on easy leases, of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, bishoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reside abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by yielding a considerable share of their income. He held in commendam the abbey of St. Albans, and many other church preferments. He was even allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester; and there seemed to be no end of his acquisitions. His farther advancement in ecclesiastical dignity served him as a pretence for engrossing still more revenues: The pope, observing his great influence over the king, was desirous of engaging him in his interests, and created him a cardinal. No churchman, under color of exacting respect to religion, ever carried to a greater height the state and dignity of that character. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen: Some even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education; and in order to gain them favor with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his servants. Whoever was distinguished by any art or science paid court to the cardinal; and none

paid court in vain. Literature, which was then C H A P.
in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; XXVIII.
and both by his public institutions and private 1515.
bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch
of erudition¹. Not content with this munificence,
which gained him the approbation of the wise,
he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by
the splendor of his equipage and furniture, the
costly embroidery of his liveries, the lustre of his
apparel. He was the first clergyman in England
that wore silk and gold, not only on his habit,
but also on his saddles and the trappings of his
horses². He caused his cardinal's hat to be borne
aloft by a person of rank; and when he came to
the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on
no place but the altar. A priest, the tallest and
most comely he could find, carried before him a
pillar of silver, on whose top was placed a cross:
But not satisfied with this parade, to which he
thought himself entitled as cardinal, he provided
another priest of equal stature and beauty, who
marched along, bearing the cross of York, even
in the diocese of Canterbury; contrary to the
ancient rule and the agreement between the pre-
lates of these rival sees³. The people made
merry with the cardinal's ostentation; and said
they were now sensible, that one crucifix alone
was not sufficient for the expiation of his sins
and offences.

¹ Erasm. Epist. lib. 2. epist. 1. lib. 16. epist. 3.

² Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 501. Hollingshed,
p. 847.

³ Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

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WARHAM, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, a man of a moderate temper, averse to all disputes, chose rather to retire from public employment, than maintain an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. He resigned his office of chancellor; and the great seal was immediately delivered to Wolsey. If this new accumulation of dignity increased his enemies, it also served to exalt his personal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A strict administration of justice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity *.

THE duke of Norfolk, finding the king's money almost entirely exhausted by projects and pleasures, while his inclination for expence still continued, was glad to resign his office of treasurer, and retire from court. His rival, Fox, bishop of Winchester, reaped no advantage from his absence; but partly overcome by years and infirmities, partly disgusted at the ascendant acquired by Wolsey, withdrew himself wholly to the care of his diocese. The duke of Suffolk had also taken offence, that the king, by the cardinal's persuasion, had refused to pay a debt, which he had contracted during his residence in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. These incidents left Wolsey to enjoy without a

* Sir Thomas More. Stowe, p. 504.

rival the whole power and favor of the king; and they put into his hands every kind of authority. In vain, did Fox, before his retirement, warn the king “not to suffer the servant to be greater than his master:” Henry replied, “that he well knew how to retain all his subjects in obedience;” but he continued still an unlimited deference in every thing to the directions and counsels of the cardinal.

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THE public tranquillity was so well established in England, the obedience of the people so entire, the general administration of justice, by the cardinal's means⁵, so exact, that no domestic occurrence happened considerable enough to disturb the repose of the king and his minister: They might even have dispensed with giving any strict attention to foreign affairs, were it possible for men to enjoy any situation in absolute tranquillity, or abstain from projects and enterprises, however fruitless and unnecessary.

THE will of the late king of Scotland, who left his widow regent of the kingdom, and the vote of the convention of states, which confirmed that destination, had expressly limited her authority to the condition of her remaining unmarried⁶: But notwithstanding this limitation, a few months after her husband's death, she espoused the earl of Angus, of the name of Douglas, a young nobleman of great family and promising hopes.

Scotch-
fairs.

⁵ Erasmi. lib. 2. epist. 1. Cavendish. Hall.

⁶ Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond. Herbert.

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WHEN the regent arrived in Scotland, he made inquiries concerning the state of the country, and

character of the people; and he discovered a scene, with which he was hitherto but little acquainted. That turbulent kingdom, he found, was rather to be considered as a confederacy, and that not a close one, of petty princes, than a regular system of civil polity; and even the king, much more a regent, possessed an authority very uncertain and precarious. Arms, more than laws, prevailed; and courage, preferably to equity or justice, was the virtue most valued and respected. The nobility, in whom the whole power resided, were so connected by hereditary alliances, or so divided by inveterate enmities, that it was impossible, without employing an armed force, either to punish the most flagrant guilt, or give security to the most entire innocence. Rapine and violence, when exercised on a hostile tribe, instead of making a person odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to their esteem and approbation; and by rendering him useful to the chieftain, entitled him to a preference above his fellows. And though the necessity of mutual support served as a close cement of amity among those of the same kindred, the spirit of revenge against enemies, and the desire of prosecuting the deadly feuds (so they were called), still appeared to be passions the most predominant among that uncultivated people.

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THE persons, to whom Albany, on his arrival, first applied for information with regard to the state of the country, happened to be inveterate

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enemies of Hume⁷; and they represented that powerful nobleman as the chief source of public disorders, and the great obstacle to the execution of the laws, and the administration of justice. Before the authority of the magistrate could be established, it was necessary, they said, to make an example of this great offender; and by the terror of his punishment, teach all lesser criminals to pay respect to the power of their sovereign. Albany, moved by these reasons, was induced to forget Hume's past services, to which he had, in a great measure, been indebted for the regency; and he no longer bore towards him that favorable countenance, with which he was wont to receive him. Hume perceived the alteration, and was incited, both by regard to his own safety and from motives of revenge, to take measures in opposition to the regent. He applied himself to Angus and the queen dowager, and represented to them the danger, to which the infant prince was exposed, from the ambition of Albany, next heir to the crown, to whom the states had imprudently intrusted the whole authority of government. By his persuasion, Margaret formed the design of carrying off the young king, and putting him under the protection of her brother; and when that conspiracy was detected, she herself, attended by Hume and Angus, withdrew into England, where she was soon after delivered of a daughter.

⁷ Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond.

HENRY, in order to check the authority of Albany and the French party, gave encouragement to these malecontents, and assured them of his support. Matters being afterwards in appearance accommodated between Hume and the regent, that nobleman returned into his own country; but mutual suspicions and jealousies still prevailed. He was committed to custody, under the care of the earl of Arran, his brother-in-law; and was, for some time, detained prisoner in his castle. But having persuaded Arran to enter into the conspiracy with him, he was allowed to make his escape; and he openly levied war upon the regent. A new accommodation ensued, not more sincere than the foregoing; and Hume was so imprudent as to intrust himself, together with his brother, into the hands of that prince. They were immediately seized, committed to custody, brought to trial, condemned, and executed. No legal crime was proved against these brothers: It was only alleged, that, at the battle of Flouden, they had not done their duty in supporting the king; and as this backwardness could not, from the course of their past life, be ascribed to cowardice, it was commonly imputed to a more criminal motive. The evidence, however, of guilt, produced against them, was far from being valid or convincing; and the people, who hated them while living, were much dissatisfied with their execution.

SUCH violent remedies often produce, for some time, a deceitful tranquillity; but as they destroy

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C H A P. mutual confidence, and beget the most inveterate
 XXVIII. animosities, their consequences are commonly
 fatal, both to the public, and to those who have
 recourse to them. The regent, however, took
 advantage of the present calm which prevailed;
 and being invited over by the French king, who
 was, at that time, willing to gratify Henry, he
 went into France; and was engaged to remain
 there for some years. During the absence of the
 regent, such confusions prevailed in Scotland,
 and such mutual enmity, rapine, and violence
 among the great families, that that kingdom
 was for a long time utterly disabled both from
 offending its enemies and assisting its friends. We
 have carried on the Scottish history some years
 beyond the present period; that, as that country
 had little connexion with the general system of
 Europe, we might be the less interrupted in the
 narration of those more memorable events, which
 were transacted in the other kingdoms.

It was foreseen, that a young, active prince,
 like Francis, and of so martial a disposition,
 would soon employ the great preparations, which
 his predecessor, before his death, had made for
 the conquest of Milan. He had been observed
 even to weep at the recital of the military exploits
 of Gaston de Foix; and these tears of emulation
 were held to be sure presages of his future
 valor. He renewed the treaty which Lewis had
 made with Henry; and having left every thing
 secure behind him, he marched his armies towards
 the south of France; pretending, that his sole

purpose was to defend his kingdom against the incursions of the Swiss. This formidable people still retained their animosity against France; and having taken Maximilian, duke of Milan, under their protection, and in reality reduced him to absolute dependence, they were determined, from views both of honor and of interest, to defend him against the invader^s. They fortified themselves in all those vallies of the Alps, through which, they thought, the French must necessarily pass; and when Francis, with great secrecy, industry, and perseverance, made his entrance into Piedmont by another passage, they were not dismayed, but descended into the plain, though unprovided with cavalry, and opposed themselves to the progress of the French arms. At Marignan near Milan, they fought with Francis one of the most furious and best contested battles, that is to be met with in the history of these latter ages; and it required all the heroic valor of this prince to inspire his troops with courage sufficient to resist the desperate assault of those mountaineers. After a bloody action in the evening, night and darkness parted the combatants; but next morning, the Swiss renewed the attack with unabated ardor; and it was not till they had lost all their bravest troops, that they could be prevailed on to retire. The field was strewed with twenty thousand slain on both sides; and the marshal Trivulzio, who had

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Progress of
Francis I.

13th Sept.

^s Mémoires de Bellai, lib. 1. Guicciardini, lib. 12.

6 H A P. been present at eighteen pitched battles, declared
 XXVIII. that every engagement, which he had yet seen,
 1515. was only the play of children; the action of
 Marignan was a combat of heroes⁹. After this
 great victory, the conquest of the Milanese was
 easy and open to Francis.

Jealousy of
 Henry.

THE success and glory of the French monarch
 began to excite jealousy in Henry; and his rapid
 progress, though in so distant a country, was
 not regarded without apprehensions by the
 English ministry. Italy was, during that age,
 the seat of religion, of literature, and of com-
 merce; and as it possessed alone that lustre, which
 has since been shared out among other nations,
 it attracted the attention of all Europe, and
 every acquisition, which was made there, appear-
 ed more important than its weight in the balance
 of power was, strictly speaking, entitled to.
 Henry also thought, that he had reason to
 complain of Francis for sending the duke of
 Albany into Scotland, and undermining the
 power and credit of his sister, the queen
 dowager¹⁰. The repairing of the fortifications
 of Teroüane was likewise regarded as a breach
 of treaty. But above all, what tended to alienate
 the court of England, was the disgust which
 Wolsey had entertained against the French
 monarch.

HENRY, on the conquest of Tournay, had
 refused to admit Lewis Gaillart, the bishop elect,

⁹ Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

¹⁰ Pere Daniel, vol. iii. p. 31.

to the possession of the temporalities, because that prelate declined taking the oath of allegiance to his new sovereign; and Wolsey was appointed, as above related, administrator of the bishopric. As the cardinal wished to obtain the free and undisturbed enjoyment of this revenue, he applied to Francis, and desired him to bestow on Gaillart some fee of equal value in France, and to obtain his resignation of Tournay. Francis; who still hoped to recover possession of that city, and who feared, that the full establishment of Wolsey in the bishopric would prove an obstacle to his purpose, had hitherto neglected to gratify the haughty prelate; and the bishop of Tournay, by applying to the court of Rome, had obtained a bull for his settlement in the fee. Wolsey, who expected to be indulged in every request, and who exacted respect from the greatest princes, resented the slight put upon him by Francis; and he pushed his master to seek an occasion of quarrel with that monarch ¹¹.

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MAXIMILIAN, the emperor, was ready to embrace every overture for a new enterprize; especially if attended with an offer of money, of which he was very greedy, very prodigal, and very indigent. Richard Pace, formerly secretary to cardinal Bambridge, and now secretary of state, was dispatched to the court of Vienna, and had a commission to propose some considerable payments to Maximilian ¹²: He thence made

¹¹ Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

¹² Petrus de Angleria, epist. 568.

H A P. a journey into Switzerland; and by like motives
 XXVIII. engaged some of the cantons to furnish troops
 1515. to the emperor. That prince invaded Italy
 with a considerable army; but being repulsed
 from before Milan, he retreated with his army
 into Germany, made peace with France and
 Venice, ceded Verona to that republic for a sum
 of money, and thus excluded himself, in some
 measure, from all future access into Italy. And
 Henry found, that, after expending five or six
 hundred thousand ducats, in order to gratify his
 own and the cardinal's humor, he had only
 weakened his alliance with Francis, without
 diminishing the power of that prince.

THERE were many reasons, which engaged
 the king not to proceed farther at present in
 his enmity against France: He could hope for
 assistance from no power in Europe. Ferdinand,
 his father-in-law, who had often deceived him,
 was declining through age and infirmities; and a
 speedy period was looked for to the long and
 prosperous reign of that great monarch. Charles,
 prince of Spain, sovereign of the Low Countries,
 desired nothing but peace with Francis, who had
 it so much in his power, if provoked, to obstruct
 his peaceable accession to that rich inheritance,
 which was awaiting him. The pope was overaw-
 ed by the power of France, and Venice was
 engaged in a close alliance with that monarchy¹¹.
 Henry therefore was constrained to remain in

¹¹ Guicciardini, lib. 12.

tranquillity during some time ; and seemed to give himself no concern with regard to the affairs of the continent. In vain did Maximilian endeavour to allure him into some expence, by offering to make a resignation of the Imperial crown in his favor. The artifice was too gross to succeed even with a prince so little politic as Henry ; and Pace, his envoy, who was perfectly well acquainted with the emperor's motives and character, gave him warning that the sole view of that prince, in making him so liberal an offer, was to draw money from him.

1516.

WHILE an universal peace prevailed in Europe, that event happened, which had so long been looked for, and from which such important consequences were expected, the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the succession of his grandson, Charles, to his extensive dominions. The more Charles advanced in power and authority, the more was Francis sensible of the necessity he himself lay under of gaining the confidence and friendship of Henry ; and he took at last the only method by which he could obtain success, the paying of court, by presents and flattery, to the haughty cardinal.

1518.

BONNIVET, admiral of France, was dispatched to London, and he was directed to employ all his insinuation and address, qualities in which he excelled, to procure himself a place in Wolsey's good graces. After the ambassador had succeeded in his purpose, he took an opportunity of expressing his master's regret, that, by mistakes and

C H A P. misapprehensions, he had been so unfortunate as
 XXVIII. to lose a friendship, which he so much valued as
 1518. that of his eminence. Wolsey was not deaf to
 these honorable advances from so great a monarch;
 and he was thenceforth observed to express him-
 self, on all occasions, in favor of the French al-
 liance. The more to engage him in his interests,
 Francis entered into such confidence with him,
 that he asked his advice even in his most secret
 affairs; and had recourse to him in all difficult
 emergencies as to an oracle of wisdom and pro-
 found policy. The cardinal made no secret to the
 king of this private correspondence; and Henry
 was so prepossessed in favor of the great capacity
 of his minister, that, he said, he verily believed
 he would govern Francis as well as himself²⁴.

WHEN matters seemed sufficiently prepared,
 Bonnivet opened to the cardinal his master's
 desire of recovering Tournay; and Wolsey im-
 mediately, without hesitation, engaged to effect
 his purpose. He took an opportunity of repre-
 senting to the king and council, that Tournay
 lay so remote from Calais, that it would be very
 difficult, if not impossible, in case of war, to
 keep the communication open between these two
 places: That as it was situated on the frontiers
 both of France and the Netherlands, it was ex-
 posed to attacks from both these countries, and
 must necessarily, either by force or famine, fall
 into the hands of the first assailant: That even in

²⁴ Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

time of peace, it could not be preserved without a large garrison, to restrain the numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever discontented with the English government: And that the possession of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expensive, so was it entirely useless, and afforded little or no means of annoying, on occasion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

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THESE reasons were of themselves convincing, and were sure of meeting with no opposition, when they came from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty therefore was entered into for the ceding of Tournay; and in order to give to that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed, that the dauphin and the princess Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Such kinds of agreement were then common among sovereigns, though it was very rare, that the interests and views of the parties continued so steady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But as Henry had been at considerable expence in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him 600,000 crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hostages, all of them men of quality, for the performance of the article¹⁵. And lest the cardinal should think himself neglected in these stipulations, Francis promised him a yearly pension of twelve thousand

Tournay
ceded to
France.

¹⁵ Mémoires de Bellay, lib. 1.

C H A P. livres, as an equivalent for his administration of
XXVIII. the bishopric of Tournay.

1518.

THE French monarch having succeeded so well in this negociation, began to enlarge his views, and to hope for more considerable advantages, by practising on the vanity and self-conceit of the favorite. He redoubled his flatteries to the cardinal, consulted him more frequently in every doubt or difficulty, called him in each letter, *father, tutor, governor*, and professed the most unbounded deference to his advice and opinion. All these caresses were preparatives to a negociation for the delivery of Calais, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid for it; and if we may credit Polydore Virgil, who bears a particular ill-will to Wolsey, on account of his being dispossessed of his employment and thrown into prison by that minister, so extraordinary a proposal met with a favorable reception from the cardinal. He ventured not, however, to lay the matter before the council: He was content to sound privately the opinion of the other ministers, by dropping hints in conversation, as if he thought Calais a useless burthen to the kingdom¹⁶: But when he found, that all men were strongly riveted in a contrary persuasion, he thought it dangerous to proceed any farther in his purpose; and as he fell, soon after, into new connexions with the king of Spain, the great friendship between Francis and him began gradually to decline.

¹⁶ Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

THE pride of Wolsey was now farther increased c H. A. P. by a great accession of power and dignity. Cardinal Campeggio had been sent as legate into XXVIII. England, in order to procure a tithe from the clergy, for enabling the pope to oppose the progress of the Turks; a danger which was become real, and was formidable to all Christendom, but on which the politics of the court of Rome had built so many interested projects, that it had lost all influence on the minds of men. The clergy refused to comply with Leo's demands: Campeggio was recalled; and the king desired of the pope, that Wolsey, who had been joined in this commission, might alone be invested with the legantine power; together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries, and even with suspending all the laws of the church during a twelvemonth. Wolsey, having obtained this new dignity, made a new display of that state and parade, to which he was so much addicted. On solemn feast-days, he was not content without saying mass after the manner of the pope himself. Not only he had bishops and abbots to serve him; he even engaged the first nobility to give him water and the towel. He affected a rank superior to what had ever been claimed by any churchman in England. Warham, the primate, having written him a letter, in which he subscribed himself, *your loving brother*, Wolsey complained of his presumption, in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told what offence he had given, he made light of the matter. "Know

1518.

Wolsey appointed legate.

CHAP. "ye not," said he, "that this man is drunk
XXVIII. "with too much prosperity."

1518.

His manner
of exercising
that office.

BUT Wolsey carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and ostentation. He erected an office, which he called the legantine court; and as he was now, by means of the pope's commission and the king's favor, invested with all power, both ecclesiastical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be set to the authority of his new tribunal. He conferred on it a kind of inquisitorial and cenforial powers even over the laity, and directed it to inquire into all matters of conscience; into all conduct which had given scandal; into all actions, which, though they escaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. Offence was taken at this commission, which was really unbounded; and the people were the more disgusted, when they saw a man, who indulged himself in pomp and pleasure, so severe in repressing the least appearance of licentiousness in others. But to render his court more obnoxious, Wolsey made one John Allen judge in it, a person of scandalous life¹⁷, whom he himself, as chancellor, had, it is said, condemned for perjury: And as it is pretended, that this man either extorted fines from every one whom he was pleased to find guilty, or took bribes to drop prosecutions, men concluded, and with some appearance of reason, that he shared with the cardinal those wages of iniquity. The clergy, and

¹⁷ Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 125.

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in particular the monks, were exposed to this tyranny; and as the libertinism of their lives often gave a just handle against them, they were obliged to purchase an indemnity, by paying large sums of money to the legate or his judge. Not content with this authority, Wolsey pretended, by virtue of his commission, to assume the jurisdiction of all the bishops' courts; particularly that of judging of Wills and Testaments; and his decisions in those important points were deemed not a little arbitrary. As if he himself were pope, and as if the pope could absolutely dispose of every ecclesiastical preferment, he presented to whatever priories or benefices he pleased, without regard to the right of election in the monks, or of patronage in the nobility and gentry¹⁸.

No one durst carry to the king any complaint against these usurpations of Wolsey, till Warham ventured to inform him of the discontents of his people. Henry professed his ignorance of the whole matter. "A man," said he, "is not so blind any where as in his own house: But do you, farther," added he to the primate, "go to Wolsey, and tell him, if any thing be amiss, that he amend it." A reproof of this kind was

¹⁸ Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. This whole narrative has been copied by all the historians from the author here cited: There are many circumstances, however, very suspicious, both because of the obvious partiality of the historian, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed.

C H A P. not likely to be effectual: It only served to augment
 XXVIII. Wolsey's enmity to Warham: But one London having prosecuted Allen, the legate's judge, in a court of law, and having convicted him of malversation and iniquity, the clamor at last reached the king's ears; and he expressed such displeasure to the cardinal as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority.

1519.

12th Jan.
 Death of the
 emperor
 Maximilian.

WHILE Henry, indulging himself in pleasure and amusement, intrusted the government of his kingdom to this imperious minister, an incident happened abroad, which excited his attention. Maximilian the emperor died; a man, who, of himself, was indeed of little consequence; but as his death left vacant the first station among christian princes, it set the passions of men in agitation, and proved a kind of æra in the general system of Europe. The kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the Imperial crown; and employed every expedient of money or intrigue, which promised them success in so great a point of ambition. Henry also was encouraged to advance his pretensions, but his minister, Pace, who was dispatched to the electors, found, that he began to solicit too late, and that the votes of all these princes were already pre-engaged either on one side or the other.

FRANCIS and Charles made profession from the beginning of carrying on this rivalry with emulation, but without enmity; and Francis in particular declared, that his brother Charles and he were, fairly and openly, suitors to the same

mistrefs; The more fortunate, added he, will carry her; the other must rest contended¹⁹. But all men apprehended, that this extreme moderation, however reasonable, would not be of long duration; and that incidents would certainly occur to sharpen the minds of the candidates against each other. It was Charles who at length prevailed, to the great disgust of the French monarch, who still continued to the last in the belief, that the majority of the electoral college was engaged in his favor. And as he was some years superior in age to his rival, and, after his victory at Marignan, and conquest of the Milanese, much superior in renown, he could not suppress his indignation, at being thus, in the face of the world, after long and anxious expectation, disappointed in so important a pretension. From this competition, as much as from opposition of interests, arose that emulation between those two great monarchs; which, while it kept their whole age in movement, sets them in so remarkable a contrast to each other: Both of them princes endowed with talents and abilities; brave, aspiring, active, warlike; beloved by their servants and subjects, dreaded by their enemies, and respected by all the world: Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying these virtues to an excess which prejudiced his affairs: Charles, political, close, artful, frugal; better qualified to obtain success in wars and in negociations, especially the latter.

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1519.

Charles,
king of
Spain,
chosen em-
peror.

¹⁹ Belcaria, lib. 16. Guicciardin, lib. 13.

C H A P. The one, the more amiable man; the other, the
XXVIII. greater monarch. The king, from his oversights
1519. and indiscretions, naturally exposed to misfortunes;
but qualified, by his spirit and magnanimity, to
extricate himself from them with honor: The
emperor, by his designing, interested character,
fitted, in his greatest successes, to excite jealousy
and opposition even among his allies, and to
rouse up a multitude of enemies, in the place of one
whom he had subdued. And as the personal qualities
of these princes thus counterpoised each other,
so did the advantages and disadvantages of their
dominions. Fortune alone, without the concur-
rence of prudence or valor, never reared up of a
sudden so great a power as that which centered in
the emperor Charles. He reaped the succession
of Castile, of Arragon, of Austria, of the Ne-
therlands: He inherited the conquest of Naples,
of Granada: Election entitled him to the empire:
Even the bounds of the globe seemed to be en-
larged a little before his time, that he might
possess the whole treasure, as yet entire and un-
rifled, of the new world. But though the con-
currence of all these advantages formed an empire,
greater and more extensive than any known in
Europe since that of the Romans, the kingdom
of France alone, being close, compact, united,
rich, populous, and being interposed between all
the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was
able to make a vigorous opposition to his pro-
gress, and maintain the contest against him.

HENRY possessed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between those two powers; and had he known to improve, by policy and prudence, his singular and inestimable advantage, he was really, by means of it, a greater potentate than either of those mighty monarchs, who seemed to strive for the dominion of Europe. But this prince was, in his character, heedless, inconsiderate, capricious, impolitic; guided by his passions or his favorite; vain, imperious, haughty; sometimes actuated by friendship for foreign powers, oftener by resentment, seldom by his true interest. And thus, though he exulted in that superiority which his situation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own essential and durable advantage, or to that of his kingdom.

FRANCIS was well acquainted with Henry's character, and endeavoured to accommodate his conduct to it. He solicited an interview near Calais; in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Wolsey earnestly seconded this proposal; and hoped, in the presence of both courts, to make parade of his riches, his splendor, and his influence over both monarchs²⁰. And as Henry himself loved show and magnificence, and had entertained a curiosity of being personally acquainted with the French king, he cheerfully adjusted all the preliminaries of this interview.

1520.
Interview
between
Henry and
Francis at
Calais.

²⁰ Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

C H A P. XXVIII. 1520. The nobility of both nations vied with each other in pomp and expence: Many of them involved themselves in great debts, and were not able, by the penury of their whole lives, to repair the vain splendor of a few days. The duke of Buckingham, who, though very rich, was somewhat addicted to frugality, finding his preparations for this festival amount to immense sums, threw out some expressions of displeasure against the cardinal, whom he believed the author of that measure²¹. An imprudence which was not forgotten by this minister.

The emperor Charles arrives in England, 25th May.

WHILE Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, he heard that the emperor was arrived at Dover; and he immediately hastened thither with the queen, in order to give a suitable reception to his royal guest. That great prince, politic though young, being informed of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehensive of the consequences, and was resolved to take the opportunity, in his passage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the king still a higher compliment, by paying him a visit in his own dominions. Besides the marks of regard and attachment which he gave to Henry, he strove, by every testimony of friendship, by flattery, protestations, promises, and presents, to gain on the vanity, the avarice, and the ambition of the

²¹ Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 855.

cardinal. He here instilled into this aspiring prelate the hope of attaining the papacy; and as that was the sole point of elevation, beyond his present greatness, it was sure to attract his wishes with the same ardor, as if fortune had never yet favored him with any of her presents. In confidence of reaching this dignity by the emperor's assistance, he secretly devoted himself to that monarch's interests; and Charles was perhaps the more liberal of his promises, because Leo was a very young man; and it was not likely, that, for many years, he should be called upon to fulfil his engagements. Henry easily observed this courtship payed to his minister; but instead of taking umbrage at it, he only made it a subject of vanity; and believed, that, as his favor was Wolsey's sole support, the obeisance of such mighty monarchs to his servant, was in reality a more conspicuous homage to his own grandeur.

THE day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court; and thence proceeded to Guisnes, a small town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles distant; and the two monarchs met, for the first time, in the fields, at a place situated between these two towns, but still within the English pale: For Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry, in consideration of that prince's passing the sea, that he might be present at the interview. Wolsey, to whom both kings had intrusted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumstance,

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30th May.

C H A P. in order to do honor to his master. The nobility
 XXVIII. both of France and England here displayed their
 1520. magnificence with such emulation and profuse expence, as procured to the place of interview the name of *the field of the cloth of gold*.

THE two monarchs, after saluting each other in the most cordial manner, retired into a tent which had been erected on purpose, and they held a secret conference together. Henry here proposed to make some amendments on the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, *I Henry king*: These were the first words; and he stopped a moment. He subjoined only the words of *England*, without adding, *France*, the usual style of the English monarchs²². Francis remarked this delicacy, and expressed by a smile his approbation of it.

HE took an opportunity soon after of paying a compliment to Henry of a more flattering nature. That generous prince, full of honor himself, and incapable of distrusting others, was shocked at all the precautions which were observed, whenever he had an interview with the English monarch: The number of their guards and attendants was carefully reckoned on both sides: Every step was scrupulously measured and adjusted: And if the two kings intended to pay a visit to the queens, they departed from their respective quarters at the same instant, which was marked by the firing of a culverin; they passed each other in

²² Mémoires de Fleuranges.

the middle point between the places; and the moment that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himself into the hands of the English at Guisnes. In order to break off this tedious ceremonial, which contained so many dishonorable implications, Francis, one day, took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guisnes. The guards were surpris'd at the presence of the monarch, who called aloud to them, *You are all my prisoners: Carry me to your master.* Henry was equally astonish'd at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother," said he, "you have here played me the most agreeable trick in the world, and have shewed me the full confidence I may place in you: I surrender myself your prisoner from this moment." He took from his neck a collar of pearls, worth 15000 angels²³; and putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it for the sake of his prisoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry should wear a bracelet, of which he made him a present, and which was double in value to the collar²⁴. The king went next day to Ardres, without guards or attendants; and confidence being now fully established between the monarchs, they employed the rest of the time entirely in tournaments and festivals.

²³ An angel was then estimated at seven shillings, or near twelve of our present money.

²⁴ Mémoires de Fleuranges.

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A DEFIANCE had been sent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities in Europe, importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready, in the plains of Picardy, to answer all comers, that were gentlemen, at tilt, tournament, and barriers. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horseback, Francis surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were gorgeously apparelled; and were both of them the most comely personages of their age, as well as the most expert in every military exercise. They carried away the prize at all trials in those rough and dangerous pastimes; and several horses and riders were overthrown by their vigor and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in these feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter, whenever they judged it expedient. Henry erected a spacious house of wood and canvas, which had been framed in London; and he there feasted the French monarch. He had placed a motto on this fabric, under the figure of an English archer embroidered on it, *Cui adhaereo praeest; He prevails whom I favor*²⁵: Expressing his own situation, as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe. In these entertainments, more than in any serious business, did the two kings pass their time, till their departure.

²⁵ Mezeray.

HENRY paid then a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais, and pass some days in that fortress. The artful and politic Charles here completed the impression, which he had begun to make on Henry and his favorite, and effaced all the friendship, to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. As the house of Austria began sensibly to take the ascendant over the French monarchy, the interests of England required, that some support should be given to the latter, and above all, that any important wars should be prevented, which might bestow on either of them a decisive superiority over the other. But the jealousy of the English against France has usually prevented a cordial union between these nations: And Charles, sensible of this hereditary animosity, and desirous farther to flatter Henry's vanity, had made him an offer (an offer in which Francis was afterwards obliged to concur), that he should be entirely arbiter in any dispute or difference that might arise between the monarchs. But the masterpiece of Charles's politics was the securing of Wolsey in his interests, by very important services, and still higher promises. He renewed assurances of assisting him in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in present possession of the revenues belonging to the sees of Badajox and Palencia in Castile. The acquisitions of Wolsey were now become so exorbitant, that, joined to the pensions from foreign powers, which Henry allowed him

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to possess, his revenues were computed nearly to equal those which belonged to the crown itself; and he spent them with a magnificence, or rather an ostentation, which gave general offence to the people; and even lessened his master in the eyes of all foreign nations ²⁶.

War be-
tween
Charles and
Francis.

THE violent personal emulation and political jealousy, which had taken place between the emperor and the French king, soon broke out in hostilities. But while these ambitious and warlike princes were acting against each other in almost every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest desire of peace; and both of them incessantly carried their complaints to Henry, as to the umpire between them. The king, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to send their ambassadors to Calais, there to negotiate a peace under the mediation of Wolsey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well apprized of the partiality of these mediators; and his demands in the conference were so unreasonable, as plainly proved him conscious of the advantage. He required the restitution of Burgundy, a province, which many years before had been ceded to France by treaty, and which, if in his possession, would have given him entrance into the heart of that kingdom: And he demanded to be freed from the homage, which his ancestors had always done for Flanders and Artois, and which he himself had, by the treaty of Noyon,

Mediation
of Henry.

²⁶ Polydore Virgil. Hall.

engaged

engaged to renew. On Francis's rejecting these terms, the congress of Calais broke up, and Wolsey, soon after, took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor. He was received with the same state, magnificence, and respect, as if he had been the king of England himself; and he concluded in his master's name an offensive alliance with the pope and the emperor against France. He stipulated, that England should next summer invade that kingdom with forty thousand men; and he betrothed to Charles the princess Mary, the king's only child, who had now some prospect of inheriting the crown. This extravagant alliance, which was prejudicial to the interests, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the result of the humors and prejudices of the king, and the private views and expectations of the cardinal.

THE people saw every day new instances of the uncontrouled authority of this minister. The duke of Buckingham, constable of England, the first nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, had imprudently given disgust to the cardinal; and it was not long before he found reason to repent of his indiscretion. He seems to have been a man full of levity and rash projects; and being infatuated with judicial astrology, he entertained a commerce with one Hopkins, a carthusian friar, who encouraged him in the notion of his mounting one day the throne of England. He was descended by a female from the duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Ed.

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24th Nov.

Trial and
condemna-
tion of the
duke of
Bucking-
ham,

C H A P. ward III.; and though his claim to the crown
 XXVIII. was thereby very remote, he had been so un-
 1521. guarded as to let fall some expressions, as if he
 thought himself best entitled, in case the king
 should die without issue, to possess the royal
 dignity. He had not even abstained from threats
 against the king's life, and had provided himself
 with arms, which he intended to employ, in
 case a favorable opportunity should offer. He
 was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk,
 whose son, the earl of Surrey, had married
 Buckingham's daughter, was created lord steward,
 in order to preside at this solemn procedure. The
 jury consisted of a duke, a marquis, seven earls,
 and twelve barons; and they gave their verdict
 against Buckingham, which was soon after car-
 ried into execution. There is no reason to think
 the sentence unjust²⁷; but as Buckingham's crimes
 seemed to proceed more from indiscretion than
 deliberate malice, the people who loved him,
 expected that the king would grant him a pardon,
 and imputed their disappointment to the animosity
 and revenge of the cardinal. The king's own
 jealousy, however, of all persons allied to the
 crown, was, notwithstanding his undoubted title,
 very remarkable during the whole course of his
 reign; and was alone sufficient to render him
 implacable against Buckingham. The office of
 constable, which this nobleman inherited from the
 Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and
 was never after revived in England.

²⁷ Herbert. Hall. Stowe, p. 513. Hollingshed, p. 862.

C H A P. XXIX.

Digression concerning the ecclesiastical state — Origin of the reformation — Martin Luther — Henry receives the title of defender of the faith — Causes of the progress of the reformation — War with France — Invasion of France — War with Scotland — A parliament — Invasion of France — Italian wars — The king of France invades Italy — Battle of Pavia and Captivity of Francis — Francis recovers his liberty — Sack of Rome — League with France.

DURING some years, many parts of Europe had been agitated with those religious controversies, which produced the reformation, one of the greatest events in history: But as it was not till this time, that the king of England publicly took part in the quarrel, we had no occasion to give any account of its rise and progress. It will now be necessary to explain these theological disputes; or what is more material, to trace from their origin those abuses, which so generally diffused the opinion, that a reformation of the church or ecclesiastical order was become highly expedient, if not absolutely necessary. We shall be better enabled to comprehend the subject, if we take the matter a little higher, and reflect a moment on the reasons, why there must be an ecclesiastical order, and a public establishment of

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C H A P. religion in every civilized community. The
 XXIX. importance of the present occasion will, I hope,
 1521. excuse this short digression.

Digression
 concerning
 the ecclesiastical
 state.

MOST of the arts and professions in a state are of such a nature, that, while they promote the interests of the society, they are also useful or agreeable to some individuals; and in that case, the constant rule of the magistrate, except, perhaps, on the first introduction of any art, is, to leave the profession to itself, and trust its encouragement to those who reap the benefit of it. The artificers, finding their profits to rise by the favor of their customers, increase, as much as possible, their skill and industry; and as matters are not disturbed by any injudicious tampering, the commodity is always sure to be at all times nearly proportioned to the demand.

BUT there are also some callings, which, though useful and even necessary in a state, bring no particular advantage or pleasure to any individual; and the supreme power is obliged to alter its conduct with regard to the retainers of those professions. It must give them public encouragement in order to their subsistence; and it must provide against that negligence, to which they will naturally be subject, either by annexing peculiar honors to the profession, by establishing a long subordination of ranks and a strict dependence, or by some other expedient. The persons, employed in the finances, armies, fleets, and magistracy, are instances of this order of men.

IT may naturally be thought, at first sight, C H A P.
that the ecclesiastics belong to the first class, and XXIX.
that their encouragement, as well as that of 1521.
lawyers and physicians, may safely be intrusted
to the liberality of individuals, who are attached
to their doctrines, and who find benefit or con-
solation from their spiritual ministry and assistance.
Their industry and vigilance will, no doubt, be
whetted by such an additional motive; and their
skill in the profession, as well as their address
in governing the minds of the people, must
receive daily increase, from their increasing
practice, study, and attention.

BUT if we consider the matter more closely,
we shall find, that this interested diligence of the
clergy is what every wise legislator will study to
prevent; because in every religion, except the
true, it is highly pernicious, and it has even a
natural tendency to pervert the true, by infusing
into it a strong mixture of superstition, folly,
and delusion. Each ghostly practitioner, in order
to render himself more precious and sacred in
the eyes of his retainers, will inspire them with
the most violent abhorrence of all other sects,
and continually endeavour, by some novelty, to
excite the languid devotion of his audience. No
regard will be paid to truth, morals, or decency
in the doctrines inculcated. Every tenet will be
adopted that best suits the disorderly affections of
the human frame. Customers will be drawn to
each conventicle by new industry and address in
practising on the passions and credulity of the

C H A P. populace. And in the end, the civil magistrate
XXIX. will find, that he has dearly paid for his pretend-
1521. ed frugality, in saving a fixed establishment for
the priests; and that in reality the most decent
and advantageous composition, which he can
make with the spiritual guides, is to bribe their
indolence, by assigning stated salaries to their
profession, and rendering it superfluous for them
to be farther active, than merely to prevent their
flock from straying in quest of new pastures.
And in this manner ecclesiastical establishments,
though commonly they arose at first from reli-
gious views, prove in the end advantageous to
the political interests of society.

BUT we may observe, that few ecclesiastical
establishments have been fixed upon a worse
foundation than that of the church of Rome,
or have been attended with circumstances more
hurtful to the peace and happiness of mankind.

THE large revenues, privileges, immunities,
and powers of the clergy rendered them for-
midable to the civil magistrate, and armed with
too extensive authority an order of men, who
always adhere closely together, and who never
want a plausible pretence for their encroachments
and usurpations. The higher dignities of the
church served, indeed, to the support of gentry
and nobility; but by the establishment of monas-
teries, many of the lowest vulgar were taken
from the useful arts, and maintained in those
receptacles of sloth and ignorance. The supreme

head of the church was a foreign potentate, guided by interests, always different from those of the community, sometimes contrary to them. And as the hierarchy was necessarily solicitous to preserve an unity of faith, rites, and ceremonies, all liberty of thought ran a manifest risque of being extinguished; and violent persecutions, or what was worse, a stupid and abject credulity took place every where.

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To increase these evils, the church, though she possessed large revenues, was not contented with her acquisitions, but retained a power of practising farther on the ignorance of mankind. She even bestowed on each individual priest a power of enriching himself by the voluntary oblations of the faithful, and left him still an urgent motive for diligence and industry in his calling. And thus, that church, though an expensive and burthenfome establishment, was liable to many of the inconveniencies, which belong to an order of priests, trusted entirely to their own art and invention for attaining a subsistence.

THE advantages, attending the Romish hierarchy, were but a small compensation for its inconveniencies. The ecclesiastical privileges, during barbarous times, had served as a check on the despotism of kings. The union of all the western churches under the supreme pontiff facilitated the intercourse of nations, and tended to bind all the parts of Europe into a close

C H A P. connexion with each other. And the pomp
 XXIX. and splendor of worship which belonged to so
 1521. opulent an establishment, contributed, in some
 respect, to the encouragement of the fine arts,
 and began to diffuse a general elegance of taste,
 by uniting it with religion.

It will easily be conceived, that, though the
 balance of evil prevailed in the Romish church,
 this was not the chief reason, which produced
 the reformation. A concurrence of incidents
 must have contributed to forward that great
 revolution.

Origin of
 the reform-
 ation.

LEO X. by his generous and enterprising
 temper, had much exhausted his treasury, and
 was obliged to employ every invention, which
 might yield money, in order to support his
 projects, pleasures, and liberalities. The scheme
 of selling indulgences was suggested to him, as
 an expedient which had often served in former
 times to draw money from the christian world,
 and make devout people willing contributors to the
 grandeur and riches of the court of Rome. The
 church, it was supposed, was possessed of a great
 stock of merit, as being entitled to all the good works
 of all the saints, beyond what were employed in
 their own justification; and even to the merits of
 Christ himself, which were infinite and unbound-
 ed: And from this unexhausted treasury, the
 pope might retail particular portions, and by
 that traffic acquire money, to be employed in
 pious purposes, in resisting the infidels, or sub-
 duing schismatics. When the money came into

his exchequer, the greater part of it was usually diverted to other purposes ¹.

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It is commonly believed, that Leo, from the penetration of his genius, and his familiarity with ancient literature, was fully acquainted with the ridicule and falsity of the doctrines, which, as supreme pontiff, he was obliged by his interest to promote: It is the less wonder, therefore, that he employed for his profit those pious frauds, which his predecessors, the most ignorant and credulous, had always, under plausible pretences, made use of for their selfish purposes. He published the sale of a general indulgence ²; and as his expences had not only exhausted his usual revenue, but even anticipated the money expected from this extraordinary expedient, the several branches of it were openly given away to particular persons, who were entitled to levy the imposition. The produce, particularly, of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was assigned to his sister Magdalene, married to Cibo, natural son of Innocent VIII.; and she, in order to enhance her profit, had farmed out the revenue to one Arcemboldi, a Genoese, once a merchant, now a bishop, who still retained all the lucrative arts of his former profession ³. The Austin friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration: But

¹ Father Paul. Sleidan. ² In 1517.

³ Father Paul. Sleidan.

6 H A P. Arcemboldi, fearing, lest practice might have
 XXIX. taught them means to secrete the money^{*},
 1521. and expecting no extraordinary success from the
 ordinary methods of collection, gave this occupa-
 tion to the Dominicans. These monks, in order
 to prove themselves worthy of the distinction
 conferred on them, exaggerated the benefits of
 indulgences by the most unbounded panegyrics;
 and advanced doctrines on that head, which,
 though not more ridiculous than those already
 received, were not as yet entirely familiar to the
 ears of the people[†]. To add to the scandal, the
 collectors of this revenue are said to have lived
 very licentious lives, and to have spent in taverns,
 gaming-houses, and places still more infamous,
 the money, which devout persons had saved from
 their usual expences, in order to purchase a
 remission of their sins[‡].

Martin
 Luther.

ALL these circumstances might have given
 offence, but would have been attended with no
 event of any importance, had there not arisen a
 man, qualified to take advantage of the incident.
 Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor in the
 university of Wittemberg, resenting the affront
 put upon his order, began to preach against these
 abuses in the sale of indulgences; and being natu-
 rally of a fiery temper, and provoked by oppo-
 sition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences
 themselves; and was thence carried, by the heat

^{*} Father Paul, lib. 1. [†] See note [A] at the end
 of the volume. [‡] Father Paul, lib. 1.

of dispute, to question the authority of the pope, from which his adversaries derived their chief arguments against him⁷. Still as he enlarged his reading, in order to support these tenets, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome; and finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, discourse, sermon, conference; and daily increased the number of his disciples. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, were in a very little time filled with the voice of this daring innovator; and men, roused from that lethargy, in which they had so long slept, began to call in question the most ancient and most received opinions. The elector of Saxony, favorable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal jurisdiction: The republic of Zurich even reformed their church according to the new model: Many sovereigns of the empire, and the Imperial diet itself, showed a favorable disposition towards it: And Luther, a man naturally inflexible, vehement, opinionative, was become incapable, either from promises of advancement, or terrors of severity, to relinquish a sect, of which he was himself the founder, and which brought him a glory, superior to all others, the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes.

THE rumor of these innovations soon reached England; and as there still subsisted in that king-

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⁷ Father Paul. Sleidan.

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Henry re-
ceives the
title of de-
fender of
the faith.

dom great remains of the Lollards, whose principles resembled those of Luther, the new doctrines secretly gained many partisans among the laity of all ranks and denominations. But Henry had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice against Luther, who, in his writings, spoke with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the king's favorite author: He opposed himself therefore to the progress of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extensive and almost absolute authority conferred upon him: He even undertook to combat them with weapons not usually employed by monarchs, especially those in the flower of their age, and force of their passions. He wrote a book in Latin against the principles of Luther; a performance, which, if allowance be made for the subject and the age, does no discredit to his capacity. He sent a copy of it to Leo, who received so magnificent a present with great testimony of regard; and conferred on him the title of *defender of the faith*; an appellation still retained by the kings of England. Luther, who was in the heat of controversy, soon published an answer to Henry; and without regard to the dignity of his antagonist, treated him with all the acrimony of style, to which, in the course of his polemics, he had so long been accustomed. The king, by this ill usage, was still more prejudiced against the new doctrines; but the public, who naturally favor the weaker party, were inclined to attribute to Luther the victory in the

dispute^s. And as the controversy became more illustrious, by Henry's entering the lists, it drew still more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran doctrine daily acquired new converts in every part of Europe.

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THE quick and surprising progress of this bold sect may justly in part be ascribed to the late invention of printing, and revival of learning: Not that reason bore any considerable share, in opening men's eyes with regard to the impostures of the Romish Church: For of all branches of literature, philosophy had, as yet, and till long afterwards, made the most inconsiderable progress; neither is there any instance that argument has ever been able to free the people from that enormous load of absurdity, with which superstition has every where overwhelmed them: Not to mention, that the rapid advance of the Lutheran doctrine, and the violence, with which it was embraced, prove sufficiently, that it owed not its success to reason and reflection. The art of printing and the revival of learning forwarded its progress in another manner. By means of that art, the books of Luther and his sectaries, full of vehemence, declamation, and a rude eloquence, were propagated more quickly, and in greater numbers. The minds of men, somewhat awakened from a profound sleep of so many centuries, were prepared for every novelty, and scrupled less to tread in any unusual path, which was opened to

Causes of the
progress of
the reform-
ation.

^s Father Paul, lib. i.

C H A P. them. And as copies of the Scriptures and other
 XXIX. ancient monuments of the christian faith became
 1521. more common, men perceived the innovations,
 which were introduced after the first centuries;
 and though argument and reasoning could not
 give conviction, an historical fact, well supported,
 was able to make impresson on their understand-
 ings. Many of the powers, indeed, assumed by
 the church of Rome, were very ancient, and
 were prior to almost every political government
 established in Europe: But as the ecclesiastics
 would not agree to possess their privileges as
 matters of civil right, which time might render
 valid, but appealed still to a divine origin, men
 were tempted to look into their primitive charter;
 and they could, without much difficulty, perceive
 its defect in truth and authenticity.

IN order to bestow on this topic the greater
 influence, Luther and his followers, not satisfied
 with opposing the pretended divinity of the
 Romish church, and displaying the temporal in-
 conveniencies of that establishment, carried mat-
 ters much farther, and treated the religion of their
 ancestors, as abominable, detestable, damnable;
 foretold by sacred writ itself as the source of all
 wickedness and pollution. They denominated the
 pope antichrist, called his communion the scarlet
 whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of
 Babylon; expressions, which, however applied,
 were to be found in Scripture, and which were
 better calculated to operate on the multitude than
 the most solid arguments. Excited by contest

and persecution on the one hand, by success and applause on the other, many of the reformers carried to the greatest extremities their opposition to the church of Rome; and in contradiction to the multiplied superstitions, with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthusiastic strain of devotion, which admitted of no observances, rites, or ceremonies, but placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, in inward vision, rapture, and ecstasy. The new sectaries, seized with this spirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and set at defiance all the anathemas and punishments, with which the Roman pontiff endeavoured to overwhelm them.

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THAT the civil power, however, might afford them protection against the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Lutherans advanced doctrines favorable, in some respect, to the temporal authority of sovereigns. They inveighed against the abuses of the court of Rome, with which men were at that time generally discontented; and they exhorted princes to reinstate themselves in those powers, of which the encroaching spirit of the ecclesiastics, and especially of the sovereign pontiff, had so long bereaved them. They condemned celibacy and monastic vows, and thereby opened the doors of the convents to those who were either tired of the obedience and chastity, or disgusted with the licence, in which they had hitherto lived. They blamed the excessive riches, the idleness, the libertinism of the clergy; and

C H A P. pointed out their treasures and revenues as lawful
 XXIX. spoil to the first invader. And as the ecclesiastics
 1521. had hitherto conducted a willing and a stupid
 audience, and were totally unacquainted with
 controversy, much more with every species of
 true literature; they were unable to defend them-
 selves against men, armed with authorities, quo-
 tations, and popular topics, and qualified to
 triumph in every altercation or debate. Such
 were the advantages, with which the reformers
 began their attack on the Romish hierarchy; and
 such were the causes of their rapid and astonishing
 success.

1st Decemb. LEO X. whose oversights and too supine trust
 in the profound ignorance of the people had given
 rise to this sect, but whose sound judgment, mo-
 deration, and temper, were well qualified to
 retard its progress, died in the flower of his age,
 a little after he received the king's book against
 Luther; and he was succeeded in the papal chair,
 by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to
 the emperor Charles. This man was fitted to
 gain on the reformers by the integrity, candor,
 and simplicity of manners, which distinguished
 his character; but, so violent were their preju-
 dices against the church, he rather hurt the cause
 by his imprudent exercise of those virtues. He
 frankly confessed, that many abominable and de-
 testable practices prevailed in the court of Rome;
 and by this sincere avowal, he gave occasion of
 much triumph to the Lutherans. This pontiff also,
 whose penetration was not equal to his good
 intentions.

intentions, was seduced to concur in that league, which Charles and Henry had formed against France⁹; and he thereby augmented the scandal, occasioned by the practice of so many preceding popes, who still made their spiritual arms subservient to political purposes.

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THE emperor, who knew, that Wolsey had received a disappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the resentment of that haughty minister, was solicitous to repair the breach made in their friendship by this incident. He paid another visit to England; and besides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolsey all the promises, which he had made him, of seconding his pretensions to the papal throne. Wolsey, sensible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promised a speedy vacancy, dissembled his resentment, and was willing to hope for a more prosperous issue to the next election. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which some articles were added; and he agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolsey for the revenue, which they should lose by a breach with France. The more to ingratiate himself with Henry and the English nation, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commission for being admiral of his dominions; and he himself was installed knight of the garter at London. After a stay of six weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton,

1522.

26th May.

⁹ Guicciardini, lib. 14.

C H A P. and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he soon
 XXIX. pacified the tumults which had arisen in his
 1522. absence ¹⁰.

War with
 France. THE king declared war against France; and
 this measure was founded on so little reason, that
 he could alledge nothing as a ground of quarrel,
 but Francis's refusal to submit to his arbitration,
 and his sending Albany into Scotland. This last
 step had not been taken by the French king, till
 he was quite assured of Henry's resolution to
 attack him. Surrey landed some troops at Cher-
 bourg in Normandy; and after laying waste the
 country, he sailed to Morlaix, a rich town in
 Brittany, which he took and plundered. The
 English merchants had great property in that place,
 which was no more spared by the soldiers, than
 the goods of the French. Surrey then left the
 charge of the fleet to the vice-admiral; and
 sailed to Calais, where he took the command of
 the English army, destined for the invasion of
 France. This army, when joined by forces from
 the Low Countries, under the command of the
 count de Buren, amounted in the whole to
 18,000 men.

Invasion of
 France. THE French had made it a maxim in almost
 all their wars with the English, since the reign
 of Charles V. never, without great necessity, to
 hazard a general engagement; and the duke of
 Vendome, who commanded the French army,
 now embraced this wise policy. He supplied the

¹⁰ Petrus de Angleria, epist. 765.

towns most exposed, especially Boulogne, Montreuil, Teroüane, Hedin, with strong garrisons and plenty of provisions: He himself took post at Abbeville, with some Swiss and French infantry, and a body of cavalry: The count of Guise encamped under Montreuil with six thousand men. These two bodies were in a situation to join upon occasion; to throw supply into any town that was threatened; and to harass the English in every movement. Surrey, who was not provided with magazines, first divided his troops for the convenience of subsisting them; but finding that his quarters were every moment beaten up by the activity of the French generals, he drew together his forces, and laid siege to Hedin. But neither did he succeed in this enterprise. The garrison made vigorous sallies upon his army: The French forces assaulted him from without: Great rains fell: Fatigue and bad weather threw the soldiers into dysenteries: And Surrey was obliged to raise the siege, and put his troops into winter-quarters about the end of October. His rear guard was attacked at Pas in Artois, and five or six hundred men were cut off; nor could all his efforts make him master of one place within the French frontier.

THE allies were more successful in Italy. Lautrec, who commanded the French, lost a great battle at Bicocca near Milan; and was obliged to retire with the remains of his army. This misfortune, which proceeded from Francis's negligence in not supplying Lautrec with money¹¹,

¹¹ Guicciardini, lib. 14.

C H A P. was followed by the loss of Genoa. The castle
XXIX. of Cremona was the sole fortress in Italy, which
1522. remained in the hands of the French.

War with
Scotland.

EUROPE was now in such a situation, and so connected by different alliances and interests, that it was almost impossible for war to be kindled in one part, and not diffuse itself throughout the whole: But of all the leagues among kingdoms, the closest was that which had so long subsisted between France and Scotland; and the English, while at war with the former nation, could not hope to remain long unmolested on the northern frontier. No sooner had Albany arrived in Scotland, than he took measures for kindling a war with England; and he summoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Rosline¹². He thence conducted the army southwards into Annandale; and prepared to pass the borders at Solway-Frith. But many of the nobility were disgusted with the regent's administration; and observing, that his connexions with Scotland were feeble in comparison of those which he maintained with France, they murmured, that, for the sake of foreign interests, their peace should so often be disturbed, and war, during their king's minority, be wantonly entered into with a neighbouring nation, so much superior in force and riches. The Gordons, in particular, refused to advance any farther; and Albany, observing a general discontent to prevail, was obliged to

¹² Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond. Pitcottie.

conclude a truce with lord Dacres, warden of the English west marches. Soon after, he departed for France; and lest the opposite faction should gather force in his absence, he sent thither before him the earl of Angus, husband to the queen dowager. C H A P.
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NEXT year, Henry, that he might take advantage of the regent's absence, marched an army into Scotland under the command of Surrey, who ravaged the Merse and Teviotdale without opposition, and burned the town of Jedburgh. The Scots had neither king nor regent to conduct them: The two Humes had been put to death: Angus was in a manner banished: No nobleman of vigor or authority remained, who was qualified to assume the government: And the English monarch, who knew the distressed situation of the country, determined to push them to extremity, in hopes of engaging them, by the sense of their present weakness, to make a solemn renunciation of the French alliance, and to embrace that of England¹³. He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage between the lady Mary, heiress of England, and their young monarch; an expedient, which would for ever unite the two kingdoms¹⁴: And the queen dowager, with her whole party, recommended every where the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with Henry. They said, that the interests of

1523.

¹³ Buchanan, lib. 14. Herbert.

¹⁴ Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 39.

C H A P. Scotland had too long been sacrificed to those of
XXIX. the French nation, who, whenever they found
1523. themselves reduced to difficulties, called for the
assistance of their allies; but were ready to abandon
them, as soon as they found their advantage in
making peace with England: That where a small
state entered into so close a confederacy with a
greater, it must always expect this treatment, as
a consequence of the unequal alliance; but there
were peculiar circumstances in the situation of
the kingdoms, which, in the present case, ren-
dered it inevitable: That France was so distant
and so divided from them by sea, that she scarce-
ly could, by any means, and never could in
time, send succours to the Scots, sufficient to
protect them against ravages from the neighbour-
ing kingdom: That nature had, in a manner,
formed an alliance between the two British nations;
having enclosed them in the same island; given
them the same manners, language, laws, and form
of government; and prepared every thing for an
intimate union between them; And that, if na-
tional antipathies were abolished, which would
soon be the effect of peace, these two kingdoms,
secured by the ocean and by their domestic force,
could set at defiance all foreign enemies, and
remain for ever safe and unmolested.

THE partisans of the French alliance, on the
other hand, said, that the very reasons, which
were urged in favor of a league with England,
the vicinity of the kingdom and its superior force,
were the real causes, why a sincere and durable

confederacy could never be formed with that hostile nation: That among neighbouring states, occasions of quarrel were frequent; and the more powerful would be sure to seize every frivolous pretence for oppressing the weaker, and reducing it to subjection: That as the near neighbourhood of France and England had kindled a war almost perpetual between them, it was the interest of the Scots, if they wished to maintain their independence, to preserve their league with the former kingdom, which balanced the force of the latter: That if they deserted that old and salutary alliance, on which their importance in Europe chiefly depended, their ancient enemies, stimulated both by interest and by passion, would soon invade them with superior force, and bereave them of all their liberties: Or if they delayed the attack, the insidious peace, by making the Scots forget the use of arms, would only prepare the way for a slavery more certain and more irretrievable¹⁵.

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1523.

THE arguments employed by the French party, being seconded by the natural prejudices of the people, seemed most prevalent: And when the regent himself, who had been long detained beyond his appointed time by the danger from the English fleet, at last appeared among them, he was able to throw the balance entirely on that side. By authority of the convention of states, he assembled an army, with a view of avenging the ravages committed by the English in the beginning of the

¹⁵ Buchanan, lib. 14.

C H A P. campaign; and he led them southwards towards
 XXIX. the borders. But when they were passing the
 1523. Tweed at the bridge of Melrofs, the English
 party raised again such opposition, that Albany
 thought proper to make a retreat. He marched
 downwards, along the banks of the Tweed,
 keeping that river on his right; and fixed his
 camp opposite to Werk-Castle, which Surrey had
 lately repaired. He sent over some troops to
 besiege this fortress, who made a breach in it,
 and stormed some of the outworks: But the regent,
 hearing of the approach of an English army, and
 discouraged by the advanced season, thought
 proper to disband his forces and retire to Edin-
 burgh. Soon after he went over to France, and
 never again returned to Scotland. The Scottish
 nation, agitated by their domestic factions, were
 not, during several years, in a condition to give
 any more disturbance to England; and Henry had
 full leisure to prosecute his designs on the continent.

THE reason, why the war against France pro-
 ceeded so slowly on the part of England was the
 want of money. All the treasures of Henry VII.
 were long ago dissipated: the king's habits of
 expence still remained; and his revenues were
 unequal even to the ordinary charge of govern-
 ment, much more to his military enterprises. He
 had last year caused a general survey to be made
 of the kingdom; the numbers of men, their years,
 profession, stock, revenue¹⁶; and expressed great

¹⁶ Herbert. Stowe, p. 514.

satisfaction on finding the nation so opulent. He then issued privy seals to the most wealthy, demanding loans of particular sums: This act of power, though somewhat irregular and tyrannical, had been formerly practised by kings of England; and the people were now familiarised to it. But Henry, this year, carried his authority much farther. He published an edict for a general tax upon his subjects, which he still called a loan; and he levied five shillings in the pound upon the clergy, two shillings upon the laity. This pretended loan, as being more regular, was really more dangerous to the liberties of the people; and was a precedent for the king's imposing taxes without consent of parliament.

HENRY soon after summoned a parliament, together with a convocation; and found neither of them in a disposition to complain of the infringement of their privileges. It was only doubted, how far they would carry their liberality to the king. Wolfey, who had undertaken the management of the affair, began with the convocation; in hopes, that their example would influence the parliament to grant a large supply. He demanded a moiety of the ecclesiastical revenues to be levied in five years, or two shillings in the pound during that time; and though he met with opposition, he reprimanded the refractory members in such severe terms, that his request was at last complied with. The cardinal afterwards, attended by several of the nobility and prelates, came to the house of commons; and in a long and elaborate

C H A P.
XXIX.
1523.

15th April,
A parliament.
ment.

C H A P. speech laid before them the public necessities,
 XXIX. the danger of an invasion from Scotland, the
 1523. affronts received from France, the league in which
 the king was engaged with the pope and the
 emperor; and he demanded a grant of 800,000
 pounds, divided into four yearly payments; a
 sum computed from the late survey or valuation,
 to be equal to four shillings in the pound of one
 year's revenue, or one shilling in the pound
 yearly, according to the division proposed¹⁷. So
 large a grant was unusual from the commons;
 and though the cardinal's demand was seconded
 by Sir Thomas More the speaker, and several
 other members attached to the court, the house
 could not be prevailed with to comply¹⁸. They
 only voted two shillings in the pound on all
 who enjoyed twenty pounds a year and upwards;
 one shilling on all who possessed between twenty
 pounds and forty shillings a year; and on the
 other subjects above sixteen years of age a groat
 a-head. This last sum was divided into two
 yearly payments; the former into four, and was
 not therefore at the outmost above six-pence in
 the pound. The grant of the commons was but
 the moiety of the sum demanded; and the car-
 dinal, therefore, much mortified with the disap-

¹⁷ This survey or valuation is liable to much suspicion, as fixing the rents a great deal too high: Unless the sum comprehend the revenues of all kinds, industry as well as land and money.

¹⁸ Herbert. Stowe, p. 518. Parliamentary History. Strype, vol. I. p. 49.

pointment, came again to the house, and desired c H A P.
to reason with such as refused to comply with XXIX.
the king's request. He was told, that it was a 1523.
rule of the house never to reason but among
themselves; and his desire was rejected. The
commons, however, enlarged a little their former
grant, and voted an imposition of three shillings
in the pound on all possessed of fifty pounds a
year, and upwards ¹⁹. The proceedings of this
house of commons evidently discover the humor
of the times: They were extremely tenacious of
their money, and refused a demand of the crown,
which was far from being unreasonable, but they
allowed an encroachment on national privileges to
pass uncensured, though its direct tendency was
to subvert entirely the liberties of the people.
The king was so dissatisfied with this saving
disposition of the commons, that, as he had not
called a parliament during seven years before,
he allowed seven more to elapse, before he sum-
moned another. And on pretence of necessity,
he levied, in one year, from all who were worth
forty pounds, what the parliament had granted
him payable in four years ²⁰; a new invasion of
national privileges. These irregularities were
commonly ascribed to the cardinal's counsels,
who, trusting to the protection afforded him by
his ecclesiastical character, was the less scrupulous
in his encroachments on the civil rights of the
nation.

¹⁹ See note [B] at the end of the volume. ²⁰ Speed.
Hall. Herbert.

C H A P. XXIX. 1523. THAT ambitious prelate received this year a new disappointment in his aspiring views. The pope, Adrian VI. died; and Clement VII. of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place, by the concurrence of the Imperial party. Wolsey could now perceive the insincerity of the emperor, and he concluded that that prince would never second his pretensions to the papal chair. As he highly resented this injury, he began thenceforth to estrange himself from the Imperial court, and to pave the way for an union between his master and the French king. Meanwhile, he concealed his disgust; and after congratulating the new pope on his promotion, applied for a continuation of the legantine powers, which the two former popes had conferred upon him. Clement, knowing the importance of gaining his friendship, granted him a commission for life; and by this unusual concession, he in a manner transferred to him the whole papal authority in England. In some particulars, Wolsey made a good use of this extensive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipswich, the place of his nativity: He sought, all over Europe, for learned men to supply the chairs of these colleges: And in order to bestow endowments on them, he suppressed some smaller monasteries, and distributed the monks into other convents. The execution of this project became the less difficult for him, because the Romish church began to perceive, that she overabounded in monks, and that she wanted some supply of learning, in order to oppose

the inquisitive, or rather disputative, humor of c H A P.
the reformers. XXIX.

1523.

THE confederacy against France seemed more formidable than ever, on the opening of the campaign²¹. Adrian, before his death, had renewed the league with Charles and Henry. The Venetians had been induced to desert the French alliance, and to form engagements for securing Francis Sforza, brother to Maximilian, in possession of the Milanese. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and all the powers of Italy combined in the same measure. The emperor in person menaced France with a powerful invasion on the side of Guienne; The forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy: A numerous body of Germans were preparing to ravage Burgundy: But all these perils from foreign enemies were less threatening than a domestic conspiracy, which had been formed, and which was now come to full maturity, against the French monarch.

CHARLES duke of Bourbon, constable of France, was a prince of the most shining merit; and, besides distinguishing himself in many military enterprises, he was adorned with every accomplishment, which became a person of his high station. His virtues, embellished with the graces of youth, had made such impression on Louise of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without regard to the inequality of their years, she made him

²¹ Guicciardini, lib. 14.

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1523.

propofals of marriage; and meeting with a repulfe, ſhe formed ſchemes of unrelenting vengeance againſt him. She was a woman, false, deceitful, vindictive, malicious; but, unhappily for France, had, by her capacity, which was conſiderable, acquired an abſolute aſcendant over her ſon. By her inſtigation, Francis put many affronts on the conſtable, which it was difficult for a gallant ſpirit to endure; and at laſt he permitted Louiſe to proſecute a lawſuit againſt him, by which, on the moſt frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample poſſeſſions; and inevitable ruin was brought upon him.

BOURBON, provoked at all theſe indignities, and thinking, that, if any injuries could juſtify a man in rebelling againſt his prince and country, he muſt ſtand acquitted, had entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the emperor and the king of England ²². Francis, pertinacious in his purpoſe of recovering the Milanefe, had intended to lead his army in perſon into Italy; and Bourbon, who feigned ſickneſs, in order to have a pretence for ſtaying behind, purpoſed, as ſoon as the king ſhould have paſſed the Alps, to raiſe an inſurrection among his numerous vaffals, by whom he was extremely beloved, and to introduce foreign enemies into the heart of the kingdom. Francis got intimation of his deſign; but as he was not expeditious enough in ſecuring ſo dangerous a foe, the conſtable made his eſcape ²³; and entering

²² Mémoires de Bellay, liv. 2.

²³ Belcarius, lib. 17.

into the emperor's service, employed all the force of his enterprising spirit and his great talents for war to the prejudice of his native country.

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1523.

THE king of England, desirous that Francis should undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy this year with an invasion; and it was late before the duke of Suffolk, who commanded the English forces, passed over to Calais. He was attended by the lords Montacute, Herbert, Ferrars, Morney, Sandys, Berkeley, Powis, and many other noblemen and gentlemen²⁴.

24th Aug.

The English army, reinforced by some troops, drawn from the garrison of Calais, amounted to about 12,000 men; and having joined an equal number of Flemings under the count de Buren, they prepared for an invasion of France. The siege of Boulogne was first proposed; but that enterprise appearing difficult, it was thought more advisable to leave this town behind them. The frontier of Picardy was very ill provided with troops; and the only defence of that province was the activity of the French officers, who infested the allied army in their march, and threw garrisons, with great expedition, into every town, which was threatened by them. After coasting the Somme, and passing Hedin, Montreuil, Dourlens, the English and Flemings presented themselves before Bray, a place of small force, which commanded a bridge over that river. Here they were resolved to pass, and, if possible,

Invasion of France.

²⁴ Herbert.

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1523.

to take up winter - quarters in France; but Crequi, threw himself into the town, and seemed resolute to defend it. The allies attacked him with vigor and success; and when he retreated over the bridge, they pursued him so hotly, that they allowed him not time to break it down, but passed it along with him, and totally routed his army. They next advanced to Montdidier, which they besieged and took by capitulation. Meeting with no opposition, they proceeded to the river Oise, within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great consternation; till the duke of Vendome hastened with some forces to its relief. The confederates, afraid of being surrounded, and of being reduced to extremities during so advanced a season, thought proper to retreat. Montdidier was abandoned: And the English and Flemings, without effecting any thing, retired into their respective countries.

FRANCE defended herself from the other invasions with equal facility and equal good fortune. Twelve thousand Lansquenets broke into Burgundy under the command of the count of Furstenberg. The count of Guise, who defended that frontier, had nothing to oppose to them but some militia, and about nine hundred heavy - armed cavalry. He threw the militia into the garrison - towns; and with his cavalry, he kept the field, and so harassed the Germans, that they were glad to make their retreat into Lorraine. Guise attacked them as they passed the Meuse, put them into disorder, and cut off the greater part of their rear.

THE

THE emperor made great preparations on the side of Navarre; and though that frontier was well guarded by nature, it seemed now exposed to danger from the powerful invasion which threatened it. Charles besieged Fontarabia, which a few years before had fallen into Francis's hands; and when he had drawn thither Lautrec, the French general, he of a sudden raised the siege, and sat down before Bayonne. Lautrec, aware of that stratagem, made a sudden march, and threw himself into Bayonne, which he defended with such vigor and courage, that the Spaniards were constrained to raise the siege. The emperor would have been totally unfortunate on this side, had he not turned back upon Fontarabia, and, contrary to the advice of all his generals, sitten down, in the winter season, before that city, well fortified and strongly garrisoned. The cowardice or misconduct of the governor saved him from the shame of a new disappointment. The place was surrendered in a few days; and the emperor, having finished this enterprise, put his troops into winter-quarters.

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1523.

So obstinate was Francis in prosecuting his Italian expedition, that, notwithstanding these numerous invasions, with which his kingdom was menaced on every side, he had determined to lead in person a powerful army to the conquest of Milan. The intelligence of Bourbon's conspiracy and escape stopped him at Lyons; and fearing some insurrection in the kingdom from the intrigues of a man so powerful and so much beloved, he

Italian wars.

C H A P. thought it prudent to remain in France, and to
 XXIX. send forward his army, under the command of
 admiral Bonnivet. The dutchy of Milan had
 been purposely left in a condition somewhat de-
 fenceless, with a view of alluring Francis to
 attack it, and thereby facilitating the enterprises
 of Bourbon; and no sooner had Bonnivet passed
 the Tefin, than the army of the league, and
 even Prosper Colonna, who commanded it, a
 prudent general, were in the utmost confusion.
 It is agreed, that if Bonnivet had immediately
 advanced to Milan, that great city, on which
 the whole dutchy depends, would have opened
 its gates without resistance: But as he wasted his
 time in frivolous enterprises, Colonna had oppor-
 tunity to reinforce the garrison, and to put the
 place in a posture of defence. Bonnivet was now
 obliged to attempt reducing the city by blockade
 and famine; and he took possession of all the posts,
 which commanded the passages to it. But the
 army of the league, meanwhile, was not unactive;
 and they so straitened and harassed the quarters of
 the French, that it seemed more likely the latter
 should themselves perish by famine, than reduce
 the city to that extremity. Sicknefs and fatigue
 and want had wasted them to such a degree,
 that they were ready to raise the blockade; and
 their only hopes consisted in a great body of Swifs,
 which was levied for the service of the French
 king, and whose arrival was every day expected.
 But these mountaineers no sooner came within
 sight of the French camp, than they stopped from

a sudden caprice and resentment; and instead of joining Bonnivet, they sent orders to a great body of their countrymen, who then served under him, immediately to begin their march, and to return home in their company ²⁵. After this desertion of the Swiss, Bonnivet had no other choice, but that of making his retreat, as fast as possible, into France.

C H A P.
XXIX.
1524.

THE French being thus expelled Italy, the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines were satisfied with the advantage obtained over them, and were resolved to prosecute their victory no farther. All these powers, especially Clement, had entertained a violent jealousy of the emperor's ambition; and their suspicions were extremely augmented, when they saw him refuse the investiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whose title he had acknowledged, and whose defence he had embraced ²⁶. They all concluded, that he intended to put himself in possession of that important dutchy, and reduce Italy to subjection: Clement in particular, actuated by this jealousy, proceeded so far in opposition to the emperor, that he sent orders to his nuncio at London to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But affairs were not yet fully ripe for this change. Wolsey, disgusted with the emperor, but still more actuated by vain-glory, was determined that he himself should have the renown of

²⁵ Guicciardini, lib. 15. Mémoires de Bellai, liv. 2.

²⁶ Guicciardini, lib. 15.

C H A P. bringing about that great alteration ; and he engaged the king to reject the pope's mediation.
 XXIX. A new treaty was even concluded between Henry
 1524. and Charles for the invasion of France. Charles stipulated to supply the duke of Bourbon with a powerful army, in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny: Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thousand crowns for the first month; after which, he might either chuse to continue the same monthly payments, or invade Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to possess these provinces with the title of king; but to hold them in fee of Henry as king of France. The dutchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles: The rest of the kingdom to Henry.

THIS chimerical partition immediately failed of execution in the article which was most easily performed: Bourbon refused to acknowledge Henry as king of France. His enterprize, however, against Provence still took place. A numerous army of Imperialists invaded that country under his command and that of the marquis of Pescara. They laid siege to Marseilles, which, being weakly garrisoned, they expected to reduce in a little time: But the citizens defended themselves with such valor and obstinacy, that Bourbon and Pescara, who heard of the French king's approach with a numerous army, found themselves under a necessity of raising the siege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and disheartened, into Italy.

FRANCIS might now have enjoyed in safety the glory of repulsing all his enemies, in every attempt which they had hitherto made for invading his kingdom. But as he received intelligence, that the king of England, discouraged by his former fruitless enterprizes, and disgusted with the emperor, was making no preparations for any attempt on Picardy, his ancient ardor seized him for the conquest of Milan; and, notwithstanding the advanced season, he was immediately determined, contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, to lead his army into Italy.

C H A P.
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1524.

He passed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and no sooner appeared in Piedmont, than he threw the whole Milanese into consternation. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi; and had Francis been so fortunate as to pursue them, they had abandoned that place, and had been totally dispersed²⁷: But his ill fate led him to besiege Pavia, a town of considerable strength, well garrisoned, and defended by Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. Every attempt, which the French king made to gain this important place, proved fruitless. He battered the walls, and made breaches; but by the vigilance of Leyva, new retrenchments were instantly thrown up behind the breaches: He attempted to divert the course of the Tesein, which ran by one side of the city, and defended it; but an inundation of the river destroyed in one night all

The king
of France
invades
Italy.

²⁷ Guicciardini, lib. 15. Du Bellay, lib. 2.

C H A P. the mounds, which the soldiers, during a long
 XXIX. time, and with infinite labor, had been erecting.
 1525. Fatigue and the bad season (for it was the depth
 of winter) had wasted the French army. The
 Imperial generals mean while were not unactive.
 Pescara and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, assembled
 forces from all quarters. Bourbon, having pawned
 his jewels, went into Germany, and with the
 money, aided by his personal interest, levied a
 body of twelve thousand Landsknechts, with which
 he joined the Imperialists. This whole army
 advanced to raise the siege of Pavia; and the
 danger to the French became every day more
 imminent.

THE state of Europe was such, during that
 age, that, partly from want of commerce and
 industry every where, except in Italy and the
 Low Countries, partly from the extensive pri-
 vileges still possessed by the people in all the great
 monarchies, and their frugal maxims in granting
 money, the revenues of the princes were extreme-
 ly narrow, and even the small armies, which
 they kept on foot, could not be regularly paid
 by them. The Imperial forces, commanded by
 Bourbon, Pescara, and Lannoy, exceeded not
 twenty thousand men; they were the only body
 of troops maintained by the emperor (for he had
 not been able to levy any army for the invasion
 of France, either on the side of Spain or Flanders).
 Yet so poor was that mighty monarch, that he
 could transmit no money for the payment of this
 army; and it was chiefly the hopes of sharing the

plunder of the French camp, which had made them advance, and kept them to their standards. Had Francis raised the siege before their approach, and retired to Milan, they must immediately have disbanded; and he had obtained a complete victory, without danger or bloodshed. But it was the character of this monarch, to become obstinate in proportion to the difficulties which he encountered; and having once said, that he would take Pavia or perish before it, he was resolved rather to endure the utmost extremities than depart from this resolution.

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1525.

THE Imperial generals, after cannonading the French camp for several days, at last made a general assault, and broke into the intrenchments. Leyva sallied from the town, and increased the confusion among the besiegers. The Swiss infantry, contrary to their usual practice, behaved in a dastardly manner, and deserted their post. Francis's forces were put to rout; and he himself, surrounded by his enemies, after fighting with heroic valor, and killing seven men with his own hand, was at last obliged to surrender himself prisoner. Almost the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either perished by the sword, or were drowned in the river. The few, who escaped with their lives, fell into the hands of the enemy.

24th Feb.
Battle of
Pavia, and
captivity of
Francis.

THE emperor received this news by Pennalosa, who passed through France, by means of a safe-conduct, granted him by the captive king. The moderation which he displayed on this occasion, had it been sincere, would have done him honor.

C H A P. XXIX. 1525. Instead of rejoicing, he expressed sympathy with Francis's ill fortune, and discovered his sense of those calamities, to which the greatest monarchs are exposed²⁸. He refused the city of Madrid permission to make any public expressions of triumph; and said that he reserved all his exultation, till he should be able to obtain some victory over the infidels. He sent orders to his frontier garrisons to commit no hostilities upon France. He spoke of concluding immediately a peace on reasonable terms. But all this seeming moderation was only hypocrisy, so much the more dangerous as it was profound. And he was wholly occupied in forming schemes, how, from this great incident, he might draw the utmost advantage, and gratify that exorbitant ambition, by which, in all his actions, he was ever governed.

THE same Pennalosa, in passing through France, carried also a letter from Francis to his mother, whom he had left regent, and who then resided at Lyons. It contained only these few words, *Madam, all is lost, except our honor*. The princess was struck with the greatness of the calamity. She saw the kingdom without a sovereign, without an army, without generals, without money; surrounded on every side by implacable and victorious enemies: And her chief resource, in her present distresses, were the hopes, which she entertained, of peace and even of assistance from the king of England.

²⁸ Ver. Hist. de Carl. V.

HAD the king entered into the war against France from any concerted political views, it is evident, that the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis, were the most fortunate incidents that could have befallen him, and the only ones that could render his schemes effectual. While the war was carried on in the former feeble manner, without any decisive advantage, he might have been able to possess himself of some frontier town, or perhaps of a small territory, of which he could not have kept possession, without expending much more than its value. By some signal calamity alone, which annihilated the power of France, could he hope to acquire the dominion of considerable provinces, or dismember that great monarchy, so affectionate to its own government and its own sovereigns. But as it is probable, that Henry had never before carried his reflections so far, he was startled at this important event, and became sensible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the distressed condition of Francis, he was determined to lend him assistance in his present calamities; and as the glory of generosity, in raising a fallen enemy, concurred with his political interests, he hesitated the less in embracing these new measures.

SOME disgusts also had previously taken place between Charles and Henry, and still more between Charles and Wolsey; and that powerful

C H A P. XXIX.

1525.

Henry embraces the alliance of France.

C H A P. minister waited only for a favorable opportunity
 XXIX. of revenging the disappointments which he had
 1525. met with. The behaviour of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occasion to revive the king's jealousy and suspicions. The emperor so ill supported the appearance of moderation, which he at first assumed, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself *your affectionate son and cousin*; he dictated his letters to a secretary, and simply subscribed himself *Charles*²⁹. Wolsey also perceived a diminution in the caresses and professions, with which the emperor's letters to him were formerly loaded; and this last imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of success, was probably more dangerous to Charles's interests than the other.

HENRY, though immediately determined to embrace new measures, was careful to save appearances in the change; and he caused rejoicings to be every where made on account of the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis. He publicly dismissed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithstanding the war, to reside at London³⁰: But upon the regent of France's submissive applications to him, he again opened a correspondence with her; and besides assuring her of his friendship and protection, he exacted a

²⁹ Guicciardini, lib. 16.

³⁰ Du Bellay, liv. iii. Stowe, p. 221. Baker, p. 273.

promise, that she never would consent to the dismembering of any province from the monarchy for her son's ransom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigor and enterprise; and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he dispatched Tonstal, bishop of London, to Madrid, with proposals for a powerful invasion of France. He required, that Charles should immediately enter Guienne at the head of a great army, in order to put him in possession of that province; and he demanded the payment of large sums of money, which that prince had borrowed from him in his last visit at London. He knew, that the emperor was in no condition of fulfilling either of these demands; and that he had as little inclination to make him master of such considerable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

TONSTAL likewise, after his arrival at Madrid, informed his master, that Charles, on his part, urged several complaints against England; and in particular was displeased with Henry, because last year he had neither continued his monthly payments to Bourbon, nor invaded Picardy, according to his stipulations. Tonstal added, that, instead of expressing an intention to espouse Mary, when she should be of age, the emperor had hearkened to proposals, for marrying his niece Isabella, princess of Portugal; and that he had entered into a separate treaty with Francis, and seemed determined to reap alone all the advantages of the success, with which fortune had crowned his arms.

C H A P.

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1525.

C H A P.

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1525.

30th Aug.

THE king, influenced by all these motives, concluded at Moore his alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her son his liberty on reasonable conditions³¹: The regent also, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thousand crowns, to be discharged in half-yearly payments of fifty thousand crowns: After which, Henry was to receive, during life, a yearly pension of a hundred thousand. A large present of a hundred thousand crowns was also made to Wolsey, for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the pension granted him for relinquishing the administration of Tournay.

MEANWHILE, Henry, foreseeing that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, was also determined to fill his treasury by impositions upon his own subjects; and as the parliament had discovered some reluctance in complying with his demands, he followed, as is believed, the counsel of Wolsey, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. He issued commissions to all the counties of England, for levying four shillings in the pound upon the clergy, three shillings and four pence upon the laity; and so uncontrollable did he deem his authority, that he took no care to cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction,

Discontents
of the Eng-
lish.

³¹ Du Tillet, Recueil des Traités de Leonard, tom. 2. Herbert.

even under the slender pretence of a loan. But he soon found, that he had presumed too far on the passive submission of his subjects. The people, displeased with an exaction beyond what was usually levied in those days, and farther disgusted with the illegal method of imposing it, broke out in murmurs, complaints, opposition to the commissioners; and their refractory disposition threatened a general insurrection. Henry had the prudence to stop short, in that dangerous path, into which he had entered. He sent letters to all the counties; declaring, that he meant no force by this last imposition, and that he would take nothing from his subjects but by way of *benevolence*. He flattered himself, that his condescension in employing that disguise would satisfy the people, and that no one would dare to render himself obnoxious to royal authority, by refusing any payment required of him in this manner. But the spirit of opposition, once roused, could not so easily be quieted at pleasure. A lawyer in the city objecting the statute of Richard III. by which benevolences were for ever abolished, it was replied by the court, that, Richard being an usurper, and his parliament a factious assembly, his statutes could not bind a lawful and *absolute* monarch, who held his crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favor of a licentious populace³². The judges even went so far as to affirm positively, that the king might

C H A P.
XXIX.
1525.

³² Herbert. Hall.

C H A P.
XXIX.
1525.

exact by commission any sum he pleased; and the privy council gave a ready assent to this decree, which annihilated the most valuable privilege of the people, and rendered all their other privileges precarious. Armed with such formidable authority, of royal prerogative and a pretence of law, Wolsey sent for the mayor of London, and desired to know what he was willing to give for the supply of his majesty's necessities. The mayor seemed desirous, before he should declare himself, to consult the common council: but the cardinal required, that he and all the aldermen should separately confer with himself about the benevolence; and he eluded by that means the danger of a formed opposition. Matters, however, went not so smoothly in the country. An insurrection was begun in some places; but as the people were not headed by any considerable person, it was easy for the duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, by employing persuasion and authority, to induce the ring-leaders to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners. The king, finding it dangerous to punish criminals, engaged in so popular a cause, was determined, notwithstanding his violent, imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he prudently imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty. The offenders were carried before the star-chamber; where, after a severe charge brought against them by the king's council, the cardinal said, "That, notwithstanding their

“ grievous offence, the king, in consideration of
 “ their necessities, had granted them his gracious
 “ pardon, upon condition, that they would find
 “ sureties for their future good behaviour.” But
 they replying, that they had no sureties, the
 cardinal first, and after him the duke of Norfolk,
 said, that they would be bound for them. Upon
 which they were dismissed ³³.

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THESE arbitrary impositions, being imputed, though on what grounds is unknown, to the counsels of the cardinal, increased the general odium, under which he labored; and the clemency of the pardon, being ascribed to the king, was considered as an atonement on his part for the illegality of the measure. But Wolsey, supported both by royal and papal authority, proceeded, without scruple, to violate all ecclesiastical privileges, which, during that age, were much more sacred than civil; and having once prevailed in that unusual attempt of suppressing some monasteries, he kept all the rest in awe, and exercised over them an arbitrary jurisdiction. By his commission as legate, he was empowered to visit them, and reform them, and chastise their irregularities; and he employed his usual agent, Allen, in the exercise of this authority. The religious houses were obliged to compound for their guilt, real or pretended, by paying large sums to the cardinal or his deputy; and this oppression was

³³ Herbert. Hall. Stowe, p. 525. Hollingshed, p. 891.

C H A P. carried so far, that it reached at last the king's
 XXIX. ears, which were not commonly open to com-
 1525. plaints against his favorite. Wolsey had built a
 splendid palace at Hampton-court, which he
 probably intended as well as that of York-place
 in Westminster, for his own residence; but fearing
 the increase of envy on account of this magnifi-
 cence, and desirous to appease the king, he made
 him a present of the building, and told him, that,
 from the first, he had erected it for his use.

THE absolute authority, possessed by the king,
 rendered his domestic government, both over
 his people and his ministers, easy and expeditious:
 The conduct of foreign affairs alone required effort
 and application; and they were now brought to
 such a situation, that it was no longer safe for
 England to remain entirely neutral. The feigned
 moderation of the emperor was of short duration,
 and it was soon obvious to all the world, that his
 great dominions, far from gratifying his ambition,
 were only regarded as the means of acquiring an
 empire more extensive. The terms which he de-
 manded of his prisoner, were such as must for
 ever have annihilated the power of France, and
 destroyed the balance of Europe. These terms
 were proposed to Francis, soon after the battle
 of Pavia, while he was detained in Pizzichitone;
 and as he had hitherto trusted somewhat to the
 emperor's generosity, the disappointment excited
 in his breast the most lively indignation. He said,
 that he would rather live and die a prisoner, than
 agree to dismember his kingdom; and that, even
 were

were he so base as to submit to such conditions, his subjects would never permit him to carry them into execution.

C H A P.

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1525.

FRANCIS was encouraged to persist in demanding more moderate terms, by the favorable accounts, which he heard of Henry's dispositions towards him, and of the alarm, which had seized all the chief powers in Italy, upon his defeat and captivity. He was uneasy, however, to be so far distant from the emperor with whom he must treat; and he expressed his desire (which was complied with) to be removed to Madrid, in hopes that a personal interview would operate in his favor, and that Charles, if not influenced by his ministers, might be found possessed of the same frankness of disposition, by which he himself was distinguished. He was soon convinced of his mistake. Partly from want of exercise, partly from reflections on his present melancholy situation, he fell into a languishing illness; which begat apprehensions in Charles, lest the death of his captive should bereave him of all those advantages, which he purposed to extort from him. He then paid him a visit in the castle of Madrid; and as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the sick monarch called to him, "You come, Sir, to visit your prisoner." "No," replied the emperor, "I come to visit my brother, and my friend, who shall soon obtain his liberty." He soothed his afflictions with many speeches of a like nature, which had

Francis removed to Madrid.

C H A P. XXIX. so good an effect, that the king daily recovered³⁴; and thenceforth employed himself in concerting with the ministers of the emperor the terms of his treaty.

1526.
14th Jan.

At last the emperor, dreading a general combination against him, was willing to abate somewhat of his rigor; and the treaty of Madrid was signed, by which, it was hoped, an end would be finally put to the differences between these great monarchs. The principal condition was the restoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldest sons as hostages to the emperor for the cession of Burgundy: If any difficulty should afterwards occur in the execution of this last article, from the opposition of the states, either of France or of that province, Francis stipulated, that, in six weeks time, he should return to his prison, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. There were many other articles in this famous convention, all of them extremely severe upon the captive monarch; and Charles discovered evidently his intention of reducing Italy, as well as France, to subjection and dependence.

MANY of Charles's ministers foresaw, that Francis, how solemn soever the oaths, promises, and protestations exacted of him, never would execute a treaty, so disadvantageous, or rather ruinous and destructive, to himself, his posterity, and his country. By putting Burgundy, they

³⁴ Herbert. de Vera. Sandoval.

thought, into the emperor's hands, he gave his powerful enemy an entrance into the heart of the kingdom: By sacrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himself of foreign assistance; and arming his oppressor with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country, rendered him absolutely irresistible. To these great views of interest, were added the motives, no less cogent, of passion and resentment; while Francis, a prince, who piqued himself on generosity, reflected on the rigor with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the severe terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his liberty. It was also foreseen, that the emulation and rivalry, which had so long subsisted between these two monarchs, would make him feel the strongest reluctance on yielding the superiority to an antagonist, who, by the whole tenor of his conduct, he would be apt to think, had shown himself so little worthy of that advantage, which fortune, and fortune alone, had put into his hands. His ministers, his friends, his subjects, his allies, would be sure, with one voice, to inculcate on him, that the first object of a prince, was the preservation of his people; and that the laws of honor, which, with a private man, ought to be absolutely supreme, and superior to all interests, were, with a sovereign, subordinate to the great duty of ensuring the safety of his country. Nor could it be imagined, that Francis would be so romantic in his principles, as not to hearken to a casuistry, which was so plausible in itself, and

C H A P.

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1526.

C H A P. which so much flattered all the passions, by
 XXIX. which, either as a prince or a man, he was
 1526. strongly actuated.

18th March.
 Francis re-
 covers his
 liberty.

FRANCIS, on entering his own dominions, delivered his two eldest sons as hostages into the hands of the Spaniards. He mounted a Turkish horse, and immediately putting him to the gallop, he waved his hand, and cried aloud several times, *I am yet a king.* He soon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry; acknowledging that to his good offices alone he owed his liberty, and protesting, that he should be entirely governed by his counsels in all transactions with the emperor. When the Spanish envoy demanded his ratification of the treaty of Madrid, now that he had fully recovered his liberty, he declined the proposal; under color, that it was previously necessary to assemble the States both of France and of Burgundy, and to obtain their consent. The States of Burgundy soon met; and declaring against the clause, which contained an engagement for alienating their province, they expressed their resolution of opposing, even by force of arms, the execution of so ruinous and unjust an article. The Imperial minister then required, that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, should now return to his prison; but the French monarch, instead of complying, made public the treaty, which, a little before, he had secretly concluded at Cognac,

22d May.

against the ambitious schemes and usurpations of the emperor ³⁵.

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1526.

THE pope, the Venetians, and other Italian states, who were deeply interested in these events, had been held in the most anxious suspense with regard to the resolutions, which Francis should take, after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, in particular, who suspected, that this prince would never execute a treaty so hurtful to his interests, and even destructive of his independence, had very frankly offered him a dispensation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis remained not in suspense; but entered immediately into the confederacy proposed to him. It was stipulated, by that king, the pope, the Venetians, the Swiss, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France on receiving a reasonable sum of money; and to restore Milan to Sforza, without farther condition or incumbrance. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but as protector of the *holy league*, so it was called: And if Naples should be conquered from the emperor, in prosecution of this confederacy, it was agreed, that Henry should enjoy a principality in that kingdom of the yearly revenue of 30,000 ducats: And that cardinal Wolsey, in consideration of the services, which he had rendered to Christendom, should also, in

³⁵ Guicciardini, lib. 17.

C H A P. such an event, be put in possession of a revenue
XXIX. of 10,000 ducats.

1527.

6th May.

Sack of
Rome.

FRANCIS was desirous, that the appearance of this great confederacy should engage the emperor to relax somewhat in the extreme rigor of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained these hopes, he was the more remiss in his warlike preparations, nor did he send in due time reinforcement to his allies in Italy. The duke of Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanese, of which the emperor intended to grant him the investiture; and having levied a considerable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates; and not the less so, because Charles, destitute, as usual, of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The general was extremely beloved by his troops; and in order to prevent those mutinies, which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection alone for him had hitherto restrained, he led them to Rome, and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. He was himself killed, as he was planting a scaling ladder against the walls; but his soldiers, rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the assault with the utmost valor, and entering the city, sword in hand, exercised all those brutalities, which may be expected from ferocity excited by resistance, and from insolence which takes place when that resistance is no more. This renowned city, exposed by her renown alone to so many calamities, never endured in

any age, even from the barbarians, by whom she was often subdued, such indignities as she was now compelled to suffer. The unrestrained massacre and pillage, which continued for several days, were the least ills, to which the unhappy Romans were exposed³⁶. Whatever was respectable in modesty or sacred in religion, seemed but the more to provoke the insults of the soldiery. Virgins suffered violation in the arms of their parents, and upon those very altars, to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity, and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with the most cruel death, in order to make them reveal their secret treasures, or purchase liberty by exorbitant ransoms. Clement himself, who had trusted for protection to the sacredness of his character, and neglected to make his escape in time, was taken captive; and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spanish soldiers, did but draw on him the insolent mockery of the German, who, being generally attached to the Lutheran principles, were pleased to gratify their animosity by the abasement of the sovereign pontiff.

WHEN intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocrisy, expressed the most profound sorrow for the success of his arms: He put himself and all his court in mourning: He stopped

³⁶ Guicciardini, lib. 18. Bellay. Stowe, p. 527.

C H A P. the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip: And
 XXIX. knowing that every artifice, however gross, is
 1527. able, when seconded by authority, to impose
 upon the people, he ordered prayers, during
 several months, to be put up in the churches for
 the Pope's liberty; which, all men knew, a letter
 under his hand could in a moment have procured.

THE concern, expressed by Henry and Francis
 for the calamity of their ally, was more sincere.
 These two monarchs, a few days before the sack
 of Rome, had concluded a treaty ³⁶ at West-
 minster, in which, besides renewing former al-
 liances, they agreed to send ambassadors to Charles,
 requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns
 as the ransom of the French princes, and to repay
 the money, borrowed from Henry; and in case
 of refusal, the ambassadors, attended by heralds,
 were ordered to denounce war against him. This
 war, it was agreed to prosecute in the Low
 Countries, with an army of thirty thousand in-
 fantry and fifteen hundred men at arms, two-
 thirds to be supplied by Francis, the rest by
 Henry. And in order to strengthen the alliance
 between the princes, it was stipulated, that either
 Francis or his son, the duke of Orleans, as should
 afterwards be agreed on, should espouse the
 princess Mary, Henry's daughter. No sooner did
 the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's
 enterprise, than they changed, by a new treaty,
 29th May. the scene of the projected war from the Nether-

³⁷ 30th April.

lands to Italy; and hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther stimulated to undertake the war with vigor for restoring him to liberty. Wolsey himself crossed the sea, in order to have an interview with Francis, and to concert measures for that purpose; and he displayed all that grandeur and magnificence with which he was so much intoxicated. He was attended by a train of a thousand horse. The cardinal of Lorraine, and the chancellor Alançon, met him at Boulogne: Francis himself, besides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving, in every place where he came, liberty to all prisoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced some miles from the town, the more to honor his reception. It was here stipulated, that the duke of Orleans should espouse the princess Mary; and as the emperor seemed to be taking some steps towards assembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it; but, during the interval of the pope's captivity, to govern the churches in their respective dominions, by their own authority. Wolsey made some attempts to get his legantine power extended over France, and even over Germany; but finding his efforts fruitless, he was obliged, though with great reluctance, to desist from these ambitious enterprises³⁸.

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11th July.

THE more to cement the union between these princes, a new treaty was, some time after, con-

18th Sept.

³⁸ Burnet, book 3, coll. 12, 13.

CHAP. cluded at London; in which Henry agreed finally
 XXIX. to renounce all claims to the crown of France;
 1527. claims, which might now indeed be deemed
 chimerical, but which often served as a pretence
 for exciting the unwary English to wage war upon
 the French nation. As a return for this concession,
 League with Francis bound himself and his successors to pay
 France. for ever fifty thousand crowns a year to Henry
 and his successors; and that greater solemnity
 might be given to this treaty, it was agreed,
 that the parliaments and great nobility of both
 kingdoms should give their assent to it. The
 marshal Montmorency, accompanied by many
 persons of distinction, and attended by a pompous
 equipage, was sent over to ratify the treaty; and
 was received at London with all the parade,
 which suited the solemnity of the occasion. The
 terror of the emperor's greatness had extinguished
 the ancient animosity between the nations; and
 Spain, during more than a century, became,
 though a more distant power, the chief object of
 jealousy to the English.

THIS cordial union between France and Eng-
 land, though it added influence to the joint em-
 bassy, which they sent to the emperor, was not
 able to bend that monarch to submit entirely to
 the conditions insisted on by the allies. He de-
 parted indeed from his demand of Burgundy as
 the ransom of the French princes; but he re-
 quired, previously to their liberty, that Francis
 should evacuate Genoa, and all the fortresses held
 by him in Italy: And he declared his intention

of bringing Sforza to a trial, and confiscating the dutchy of Milan, on account of his pretended treason. The English and French heralds, therefore, according to agreement, declared war against him, and set him at defiance, Charles answered the English herald with moderation; but to the French, he reproached his master with breach of faith, reminded him of the private conversation which had passed between them at Madrid before their separation, and offered to prove by single combat, that he had acted dishonorably. Francis retaliated this challenge by giving Charles the lie; and, after demanding security of the field, he offered to maintain his cause by single combat. Many messages passed to and fro between them; but though both princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place. The French and Spaniards, during that age, zealously disputed which of the monarchs incurred the blame of this failure; but all men of moderation every where lamented the power of fortune, that the prince the more candid, generous, and sincere, should, by unhappy incidents, have been reduced to so cruel a situation, that nothing but his violation of treaty could preserve his people, and that he must ever after, without being able to make a proper reply, bear to be reproached with breach of promise by a rival, inferior to him both in honor and virtue.

BUT though this famous challenge between Charles and Francis had no immediate consequence with regard to these monarchs themselves, it

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produced a considerable alteration on the manners of the age. The practice of challenges and duels, which had been part of the ancient barbarous jurisprudence, which was still preserved on very solemn occasions, and which was sometimes countenanced by the civil magistrate, began thenceforth to prevail in the most trivial incidents; and men, on any affront or injury, thought themselves entitled, or even required in honor, to take revenge on their enemies, by openly vindicating their right in single combat. These absurd, though generous maxims, shed much of the best blood in Christendom during more than two centuries; and notwithstanding the severity of law and authority of reason, such is the prevailing force of custom, they are far from being as yet entirely exploded.

C H A P. XXX.

Scruples concerning the king's marriage—The king enters into these scruples—Anne Boleyn—Henry applies to the pope for a divorce—The pope favorable—The emperor threatens him—The pope's ambiguous conduct—The cause evoked to Rome—Wolsey's fall—Commencement of the reformation in England—Foreign affairs—Wolsey's death—A parliament—Progress of the reformation—A parliament—King's final breach with Rome—A parliament.

NOTWITHSTANDING the submissive deference, paid to papal authority before the reformation, the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not passed, without much scruple and difficulty. The prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations; and the late king, though he had betrothed his son, when that prince was but twelve years of age, gave evident proofs of his intention to take afterwards a proper opportunity of annulling the contract ¹. He ordered the young prince, as soon as he came of age, to enter a protestation against the marriage ²; and on his death-bed he charged

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Scruples
concerning
the king's
marriage.

¹ Morison's *Apomaxis*, p. 13.
Heylin's *Queen Mary*, p. 2.

² Morison, p. 13.

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him, as his last injunction, not to finish an alliance, so unusual, and exposed to such insuperable objections. After the king's accession, some members of the privy council, particularly Warham, the primate, openly declared against the resolution of completing the marriage: and though Henry's youth and dissipation kept him, during sometime, from entertaining any scruples with regard to the measure which he had embraced, there happened incidents, sufficient to rouse his attention, and to inform him of the sentiments, generally entertained on that subject. The states of Castile had opposed the emperor Charles's espousals with Mary, Henry's daughter; and among other objections, had insisted on the illegitimate birth of the young princess³. And when the negociations were afterwards opened with France, and mention was made of betrothing her to Francis or the duke of Orleans, the bishop of Tarbe, the French ambassador, revived the same objection⁴. But though these events naturally raised some doubts in Henry's mind, there concurred other causes, which tended much to increase his remorse, and render his conscience more scrupulous.

The king
enters into
these scrup-
les.

THE queen was older than the king by no less than six years: and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed, notwithstanding her blameless

³ Lord Herbert, Fiddes's life of Wolsey.

⁴ Rymer, vol. xiv. 192. 203. Heylin, p. 3.

character and deportment, to render her person unacceptable to him. Though she had borne him several children, they all died in early infancy, except one daughter; and he was the more struck with this misfortune, because the curse of being childless is the very threatening, contained in the Mosaical law, against those who espouse their brother's widow. The succession too of the crown was a consideration, that occurred to every one, whenever the lawfulness of Henry's marriage was called in question; and it was apprehended, that if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakness of her sex, the king of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretensions, and might throw the kingdom into confusion. The evils, as yet recent, of civil wars and convulsions, arising from a disputed title, made great impression on the minds of men, and rendered the people universally desirous of any event, which might obviate so irreparable a calamity. And the king was thus impelled, both by his private passions, and by motives of public interest, to seek the dissolution of his inauspicious, and, as it was esteemed, unlawful marriage with Catherine.

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HENRY afterwards affirmed that his scruples arose entirely from private reflection; and that on consulting his confessor, the bishop of Lincoln, he found the prelate possessed with the same doubts and difficulties. The king himself, being so great a casuist and divine, next proceeded to examine the question more carefully by his own

C H A P. learning and study; and having had recourse to
XXX. Thomas of Aquine, he observed that this cele-
1527. brated doctor, whose authority was great in the
 church and absolute with him, had treated of
 that very case, and had expressly declared against
 the lawfulness of such marriages⁵. The prohibi-
 tions, said Thomas, contained in Leviticus, and
 among the rest, that of marrying a brother's
 widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a
 divine sanction; and though the pope may dis-
 pense with the rules of the church, the laws of
 God cannot be set aside by any authority less than
 that which enacted them. The archbishop of
 Canterbury was then applied to; and he was
 required to consult his brethren: All the prelates
 of England, except Fisher, bishop of Rochester,
 unanimously declared, under their hand and seal,
 that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful⁶.
 Wolsey also fortified the king's scruples⁷; partly
 with a view of promoting a total breach with
 the emperor, Catherine's nephew; partly desirous
 of connecting the king more closely with Francis,
 by marrying him to the dutchess of Alençon,
 sister to that monarch; and perhaps too some-
 what disgusted with the queen herself, who had
 reproved him for certain freedoms, unbefitting
 his character and station⁸. But Henry was carried
 forward, though perhaps not at first excited, by

⁵ Burnet. Fiddes.
 p. 548.

⁶ Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Stowe,
⁷ Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 46. 166. 168. Saun-
 ders. Heylin, p. 4.

⁸ Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Strype,
 vol. i. p. 88.

a motive more forcible than even the suggestions of that powerful favorite.

ANNE Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honor to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being seen by Henry, and of conversing with him, she had acquired an entire ascendant over his affections. This young lady, whose grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her so celebrated, was daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in several embassies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom. His wife, mother to Anne, was daughter of the duke of Norfolk; his own mother was daughter of the earl of Ormond; his grandfather Sir Geoffry Boleyn, who had been mayor of London, had espoused one of the daughters and co-heirs of lord Hastings⁹. Anne herself, though then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the king's sister, when the princess espoused Lewis XII. of France; and upon the demise of that monarch, and the return of his dowager into England, this damsel, whose accomplishments even in her tender years were always much admired, was retained in the service of Claude, queen of France, spouse to Francis; and after the death of that princess, she passed into the family of the dutchess of Alençon, a woman of singular merit. The exact time,

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Anne Boleyn.

⁹ Camden's preface to the life of Elizabeth. Burnet, vol. i. p. 44.

C H A P. when she returned to England, is not certainly
 XXX. known; but it was after the king had entertain-
 1527. ed doubts with regard to the lawfulness of his
 marriage with Catherine; if the account is to be
 credited, which he himself afterwards gave of that
 transaction. Henry's scruples had made him break
 off all conjugal commerce with the queen; but
 as he still supported an intercourse of civility
 and friendship with her, he had occasion, in the
 frequent visits which he paid her, to observe
 the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne
 Boleyn. Finding the accomplishments of her
 mind nowise inferior to her exterior graces, he
 even entertained the design of raising her to the
 throne; and was the more confirmed in this
 resolution, when he found that her virtue and
 modesty prevented all hopes of gratifying his
 passion in any other manner. As every motive,
 therefore, of inclination and policy, seemed thus
 to concur in making the king desirous of a
 divorce from Catherine, and as his prospect of
 success was inviting, he resolved to make ap-
 plications to Clement, and he sent Knight, his
 secretary, to Rome for that purpose.

Henry ap-
 plies to the
 pope for a
 divorce.

THAT he might not shock the haughty claims
 of the pontiff, he resolved not to found the
 application on any general doubts concerning the
 papal power to permit marriage in the nearer
 degrees of consanguinity; but only to insist on
 particular grounds of nullity in the bull, which
 Julius had granted for the marriage of Henry
 and Catherine. It was a maxim in the court of

Rome, that, if the pope be surpris'd into any concession, or grant any indulgence upon false suggestions, the bull may afterwards be annulled; and this pretence had usually been employed, wherever one pope had recalled any deed, executed by any of his predecessors. But Julius's bull, when examined, afforded abundant matter of this kind; and any tribunal, favorable to Henry, needed not want a specious color for gratifying him in his applications for a divorce. It was said in the preamble, that the bull had been granted upon his sollicitation; though it was known, that, at that time, he was under twelve years of age: It was also affirmed, as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requisite, in order to preserve peace between the two crowns; though it is certain, that there was not then any ground or appearance of quarrel between them. These false premises in Julius's bull seem'd to afford Clement a sufficient reason or pretence for annulling it, and granting Henry a dispensation for a second marriage ¹⁰.

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BUT though the pretext for this indulgence had been less plausible, the pope was in such a situation, that he had the strongest motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the English monarch. He was then a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reasonable terms, except

The pope
favorable

¹⁰ Collier, Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 25. from the Cott. Lib. Vitel. p. 9.

C H A P. by the efforts of the league, which Henry had
 XXX. formed with Francis and the Italian powers, in
 1527. order to oppose the ambition of Charles. When
 the English Secretary, therefore, solicited him
 in private, he received a very favorable answer;
 and a dispensation was forthwith promised to be
 granted to his master¹¹. Soon after, the march
 of a French army into Italy, under the command
 of Lautrec, obliged the Imperialists to restore
 Clement to his liberty; and he retired to Orvieto,
 where the Secretary, with Sir Gregory Cassali,
 the king's resident at Rome, renewed their ap-
 plications to him. They still found him full of
 high professions of friendship, gratitude, and at-
 tachment to the king; but not so prompt in grant-
 ing his request as they expected. The emperor,
 who had got intelligence of Henry's application
 to Rome, had exacted a promise from the pope,
 to take no steps in the affair before he commu-
 nicated them to the Imperial ministers; and Cle-
 ment, embarrassed by this promise, and still more
 overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, seemed
 willing to postpone those concessions desired of
 him by Henry. Importuned, however, by the
 English ministers, he at last put into their hands
 a *commission* to Wolsey, as legate, in conjunction
 with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other
 English prelate, to examine the validity of the
 king's marriage, and of Julius's dispensation¹²:
 He also granted them a provisional *dispensation*

¹¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 47. ¹² Rymer, vol. xiv. 237.

for the king's marriage with any other person; and promised to issue a *decretal bull*, annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he represented to them the dangerous consequences, which must ensue to him, if these concessions should come to the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publish those papers, or make any further use of them, till his affairs were in such a situation as to secure his liberty and independence. And his secret advice was, whenever they should find the proper time for opening the scene, that they should prevent all opposition, by proceeding immediately to a conclusion, by declaring the marriage with Catherine invalid, and by Henry's instantly espousing some other person. Nor would it be so difficult, he said, for himself to confirm these proceedings, after they were passed, as previously to render them valid, by his consent and authority¹³.

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WHEN Henry received the commission and dispensation from his ambassadors, and was informed of the pope's advice, he laid the whole before his ministers, and asked their opinion in so delicate a situation. The English counsellors considered the danger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them. Should the pope refuse to ratify a deed, which he might justly call precipitate and irregular, and should he disavow the advice which he gave in so clandestine a manner, the king would find his second marriage totally

1528.

¹³ Collier, from Cott. Lib. Vitel. B. 10.

C H A P. invalidated; the children, which it might bring
 XXX. him, declared illegitimate; and his marriage with
 1528. Catherine more firmly rivetted than ever¹⁴. And
 Henry's apprehensions of the possibility, or even
 probability, of such an event, were much con-
 firmed when he reflected on the character and
 situation of the sovereign pontiff.

CLEMENT was a prince of excellent judgment,
 whenever his timidity, to which he was ex-
 tremely subject, allowed him to make full use of
 those talents and that penetration with which he
 was endowed¹⁵. The captivity, and other mis-
 fortunes, which he had undergone, by entering
 into a league against Charles, had so affected his
 imagination, that he never afterwards exerted
 himself with vigor in any public measure; especially
 if the interest or inclinations of that potentate
 stood in opposition to him. The Imperial forces
 were, at that time, powerful in Italy, and might
 return to the attack of Rome, which was still
 defenceless, and exposed to the same calamities
 with which it had already been overwhelmed.
 And besides these dangers, Clement fancied him-
 self exposed to perils, which threatened, still
 more immediately, his person and his dignity.

The empe-
 ror threat-
 ens him.

CHARLES, apprized of the timid disposition of
 the holy father, threw out perpetual menaces of
 summoning a general council; which he repre-
 sented as necessary to reform the church, and

¹⁴ Burnet, vol. i. p. 51.

¹⁵ Father Paul, lib. 1. Guicciardini.

correct those enormous abuses, which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome had introduced into every branch of ecclesiastical administration. The power of the sovereign pontiff himself, he said, required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne, which he filled, might justly be called in question. That pope had always passed for the natural son of Julian of Medicis, who was of the sovereign family of Florence; and though Leo X. his kinsman, had declared him legitimate, upon a pretended promise of marriage between his father and mother, few believed that declaration to be founded on any just reason or authority¹⁶. The canon law, indeed, had been entirely silent with regard to the promotion of bastards to the papal throne; but, what was still dangerous, the people had entertained a violent prepossession, that this stain in the birth of any person was incompatible with so holy an office. And in another point, the canon law was express and positive, that no man, guilty of simony, could attain that dignity. A severe bull of Julius II. had added new sanctions to this law, by declaring, that a simoniacal election could not be rendered valid, even by a posterior consent of the cardinals. But unfortunately Clement had given to cardinal Colonna a billet, containing promises of advancing that cardinal, in case he himself should attain the papal dignity by his

C H A P.
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1528,

¹⁶ Father Paul, lib. I.

C H A P. concurrence: And this billet, Colonna, who was
XXX. in entire dependence on the emperor, threatened
1528. every moment to expose to public view ¹⁷.

WHILE Charles terrified the pope with these menaces, he also allured him by hopes, which were no less prevalent over his affections. At the time when the emperor's forces sacked Rome, and reduced Clement to captivity, the Florentines, passionate for their ancient liberty, had taken advantage of his distresses, and revolting against the family of Medicis, had entirely abolished their authority in Florence, and re-established the democracy. The better to protect themselves in their freedom, they had entered into the alliance with France, England, and Venice, against the emperor; and Clement found, that, by this interest, the hands of his confederates were tied from assisting him in the restoration of his family; the event, which, of all others, he most passionately desired. The emperor alone, he knew, was able to effect this purpose; and therefore, whatever professions he made of fidelity to his allies, he was always, on the least glimpse of hope, ready to embrace every proposal of a cordial reconciliation with that monarch ¹⁸.

THESE views and interests of the pope were well known in England; and as the opposition of the emperor to Henry's divorce was foreseen, both on account of the honor and interests of

¹⁸ Father Paul.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Catherine his aunt, and the obvious motive of distressing an enemy, it was esteemed dangerous to take any measure of consequence, in expectation of the subsequent concurrence of a man of Clement's character, whose behaviour always contained so much duplicity, and who was at present so little at his own disposal. The safest measure seemed to consist in previously engaging him so far, that he could not afterwards recede, and in making use of his present ambiguity and uncertainty, to extort the most important concessions from him. For this purpose, Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's secretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, were dispatched to Rome, and were ordered to solicit a commission from the pope, of such a nature as would oblige him to confirm the sentence of the commissioners, whatever it should be, and disable him, on any account, to recal the commission, or evoke the cause to Rome ¹⁹.

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10th Feb.

BUT the same reasons, which made the king so desirous of obtaining this concession, confirmed the pope in the resolution of refusing it: He was still determined to keep the door open for an agreement with the emperor, and he made no scruple of sacrificing all other considerations to a point, which he deemed the most essential and important to his own security, and to the great-

The pope's
ambiguous
conduct

¹⁹ Lord Herbert. Burnet, vol. i. p. 29. in the collect. Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 28. Strype, vol. i. p. 93. with App. N^o 23, 24, &c.

C H A P. nefs of his family. He granted, therefore, a new
 XXX. commiffion, in which cardinal Campeggio was
 1528. joined to Wolsey, for the trial of the king's marriage; but he could not be prevailed on to insert the clause desired of him. And though he put into Gardiner's hand a letter, promising not to recal the present commiffion; this promise was found, on examination, to be couched in fuch ambiguous terms, as left him ftill the power, whenever he pleased, of departing from it ²⁰.

CAMPEGGIO lay under fome obligations to the king; but his dependence on the pope was fo much greater, that he conformed himfelf entirely to the views of the latter; and though he received his commiffion in April, he delayed his departure under fo many pretences, that it was October before he arrived in England. The firft ftep, which he took, was to exhort the king to defift from the profecution of his divorce; and finding this counfel gave offence, he faid, that his intention was alfo to exhort the queen to take the vows in a convent, and that he thought it his duty, previously to attempt an amicable compofure of all differences ²¹. The more to pacify the king, he showed to him, as alfo to the cardinal, the decretal bull, annulling the former marriage with Catherine; but no entreaties could prevail on him to make any other of the king's council privy to the fecret ²². In order to atone, in fome

²⁰ Lord Herbert, p. 221. Burnet, p. 59.

²¹ Herbert, p. 225.

²² Burnet, p. 58.

degree, for this obstinacy, he expressed to the king and the cardinal, the pope's great desire of satisfying them in every reasonable demand; and in particular, he showed, that their request for suppressing some more monasteries, and converting them into cathedrals and episcopal sees, had obtained the consent of his holiness ²³.

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THESE ambiguous circumstances, in the behaviour of the pope and the legate, kept the court of England in suspense, and determined the king to wait with patience the issue of such uncertain councils. Fortune meanwhile seemed to promise him a more sure and expeditious way of extricating himself from his present difficulties. Clement was seized with a dangerous illness; and the intrigues, for electing his successor, began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolsey, in particular, supported by the interest of England and of France, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of St. Peter ²⁴; and it appears, that if a vacancy had then happened, there was a probability of his reaching that summit of his ambition. But the pope recovered, though after several relapses; and he returned to the same train of false and deceitful politics, by which he had hitherto amused the court of England. He still flattered Henry with professions of the most cordial attachment, and promised him a sudden and favorable issue to his process: He still continued

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²³ Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 270. Strype, vol. i. p. 110, 111, Append. N^o 28.

²⁴ Burnet, vol. i. p. 63.

C H A P. his secret negociations with Charles, and per-
 XXX. severed in the resolution of sacrificing all his
 1529. promises, and all the interests of the Romish religion, to the elevation of his family. Campeggio, who was perfectly acquainted with his views and intentions, protracted the decision by the most artful delays; and gave Clement full leisure to adjust all the terms of his treaty with the emperor.

THE emperor, acquainted with the king's extreme earnestness in this affair, was determined, that he should obtain success by no other means than by an application to him, and by deserting his alliance with Francis, which had hitherto supported, against the superior force of Spain, the tottering state of the French monarchy. He willingly hearkened, therefore, to the applications of Catherine, his aunt; and promising her his utmost protection, exhorted her never to yield to the malice and persecutions of her enemies. The queen herself was naturally of a firm and resolute temper; and was engaged by every motive to persevere in protesting against the injustice to which she thought herself exposed. The imputation of incest, which was thrown upon her marriage with Henry, struck her with the highest indignation: The illegitimacy of her daughter, which seemed a necessary consequence, gave her the most just concern: The reluctance of yielding to a rival, which, she believed, had supplanted her in the king's affections, was a very natural motive. Actuated by all these considerations,

she never ceased soliciting her nephew's assistance, and earnestly entreating an evocation of the cause to Rome, where alone, she thought, she could expect justice. And the emperor, in all his negotiations with the pope, made the recal of the commission, which Campeggio and Wolsey exercised in England, a fundamental article ²⁵.

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THE two legates, meanwhile, opened their court at London, and cited the king and queen to appear before it. They both presented themselves; and the king answered to his name, when called: But the queen, instead of answering to hers, rose from her seat, and throwing herself at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes rendered the more affecting. She told him, that she was a stranger in his dominions, without protection, without council, without assistance; exposed to all the injustice, which her enemies were pleased to impose upon her: That she had quitted her native country without other resource, than her connexions with him and his family, and had expected, that, instead of suffering thence any violence or iniquity, she was assured in them of a safeguard against every misfortune: That she had been his wife during twenty years, and would here appeal to himself, whether her affectionate submission to his will had not merited better treatment, than to be thus, after so long a time, thrown from him with so much indignity:

31st May.

Trial of the
king's marriage.

²⁵ Herbert, p. 225. Burnet, vol. i. p. 69.

C H A P. XXX. 1529. That she was conscious — he himself was assured — that her virgin honor was yet unstained, when he received her into his bed, and that her connexions with his brother had been carried no farther than the ceremony of marriage: That their parents, the kings of England and Spain, were esteemed the wisest princes of their time, and had undoubtedly acted by the best advice, when they formed the agreement for that marriage, which was now represented as so criminal and unnatural: And that she acquiesced in their judgment, and would not submit her cause to be tried by a court, whose dependence on her enemies was too visible, ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial decision ²⁶. Having spoken these words, she rose, and making the king a low reverence, she departed from the court, and never would again appear in it.

AFTER her departure, the king did her the justice to acknowledge, that she had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenor of her behaviour had been conformable to the strictest rules of probity and honor. He only insisted on his own scruples, with regard to the lawfulness of their marriage; and he explained the origin, the progress, and the foundation of those doubts, by which he had been so long and so violently agitated. He acquitted cardinal Wolsey from having any hand in encouraging his scruples;

²⁶ Burnet, vol. i. p. 73. Hall. Stowe, p. 543.

and he craved a sentence of the court, agreeable to the justice of his cause. C H A P.

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THE legates, after citing the queen anew, declared her *contumacious*, notwithstanding her appeal to Rome; and then proceeded to the examination of the cause. The first point which came before them, was, the proof of prince Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catherine; and it must be confessed, that no stronger arguments could reasonably be expected of such a fact after so long an interval. The age of the prince, who had passed his fifteenth year, the good state of his health, the long time that he had cohabited with his consort, many of his expressions to that very purpose; all these circumstances form a violent presumption in favor of the king's assertion²⁷. Henry himself, after his brother's death, was not allowed for some time to bear the title of prince of Wales, in expectation of her pregnancy: The Spanish ambassador, in order the better to ensure possession of her jointure, had sent over to Spain, proofs of the consummation of her marriage²⁸: Julius's bull itself was founded on the supposition, that Arthur had *perhaps* had knowledge of the princess: In the very treaty, fixing Henry's marriage, the consummation of the former marriage with prince Arthur, is acknowledged on both sides²⁹. These particulars were all laid before the court; accompanied with many

²⁷ Herbert. ²⁸ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 35.

²⁹ Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 81.

C H A P. reasonings concerning the extent of the pope's
 XXX. authority, and against his power of granting a
 1529. dispensation to marry within the prohibited
 degrees. Campeggio heard these doctrines with
 great impatience; and notwithstanding his resolu-
 tion to protract the cause, he was often tempted
 to interrupt and silence the king's council, when
 they insisted on such disagreeable topics. The
 trial was spun out till the 23d of July; and Cam-
 peggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting
 it. Wolsey, though the elder cardinal, permitted
 him to act as president of the court; because it
 was thought, that a trial, managed by an Italian
 cardinal, would carry the appearance of greater
 candor and impartiality, than if the king's own
 minister and favorite had presided in it. The
 business now seemed to be drawing near to a
 period; and the king was every day in expectation
 of a sentence in his favor; when, to his great
 surprise, Campeggio, on a sudden, without any
 warning, and upon very frivolous pretences³⁰,
 prorogued the court, till the first of October.
 The evocation, which came a few days after
 from Rome, put an end to all the hopes of suc-
 cess, which the king had so long and so anxiously
 cherished³¹.

The cause
 evoked to
 Rome.

DURING the time, that the trial was carried
 on before the legates at London, the emperor
 had by his ministers earnestly solicited Clement to
 evoke the cause; and had employed every topic

³⁰ Burnet, vol. i. p. 76, 77.

³¹ Herbert, p. 254.

of hope or terror, which could operate either on the ambition or timidity of the pontiff. The English ambassadors, on the other hand, in conjunction with the French, had been no less earnest in their applications, that the legates should be allowed to finish the trial; but, though they employed the same engines of promises and menaces, the motives, which they could set before the pope, were not so urgent or immediate as those which were held up to him by the emperor³². The dread of losing England, and of fortifying the Lutherans by so considerable an accession, made small impression on Clement's mind, in comparison of the anxiety for his personal safety, and the fond desire of restoring the Medicis to their dominion in Florence. As soon, therefore, as he had adjusted all terms with the emperor, he laid hold of the pretence of justice, which required him, as he asserted, to pay regard to the queen's appeal; and suspending the commission of the legates, he adjourned the cause to his own personal judgment at Rome. Campeggio had beforehand received private orders, delivered by Campana, to burn the decretal bull, with which he was intrusted.

WOLSEY had long foreseen this measure as the sure forerunner of his ruin. Though he had at first desired, that the king should rather marry a French princess than Anne Boleyn, he had employed himself with the utmost assiduity and

³² Burnet, vol. i. p. 75.

C H A P. earnestness to bring the affair to a happy issue ³³:
 XXX. He was not therefore to be blamed for the un-
 1529. prosperous event, which Clement's partiality had
 produced. But he had sufficient experience of
 the extreme ardor and impatience of Henry's
 temper, who could bear no contradiction, and
 was wont, without examination or distinction,
 to make his ministers answerable for the success
 of those transactions with which they were in-
 trusted. Anne Boleyn also, who was prepossessed
 against him, had imputed to him the failure of
 her hopes; and as she was newly returned to
 court, whence she had been removed, from a
 regard to decency, during the trial before the
 legates, she had naturally acquired an additional
 influence on Henry, and she served much to
 fortify his prejudices against the cardinal ³⁴.
 Even the queen and her partisans, judging of
 Wolsey by the part which he had openly acted,
 had expressed great animosity against him; and
 the most opposite factions seemed now to com-
 bine in the ruin of this haughty minister. The
 high opinion itself, which Henry had entertained
 of the cardinal's capacity, tended to hasten his
 downfall; while he imputed the bad success of
 that minister's undertakings, not to ill fortune or
 to mistake, but to the malignity or infidelity of
 his intentions. The blow, however, fell not
 instantly on his head. The king, who probably

³³ Collier, vol. ii. p. 45. Burnet, vol. i. p. 53.

³⁴ Cavendish, p. 40.

could not justify by any good reason his alienation from his ancient favorite, seems to have remained some time in suspense; and he received him, if not with all his former kindness, at least with the appearance of trust and regard.

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BUT constant experience evinces how rarely a high confidence and affection receives the least diminution, without sinking into absolute indifference, or even running into the opposite extreme. The king now determined to bring on the ruin of the cardinal with a motion almost as precipitate as he had formerly employed in his elevation. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were sent to require the great seal from him; and on his scrupling to deliver it³⁵, without a more express warrant, Henry wrote him a letter, upon which it was surrendered, and it was delivered by the king to Sir Thomas More, a man, who, besides the ornaments of an elegant literature, possessed the highest virtue, integrity, and capacity.

Wolsey's
fall.

18th Oct.

WOLSEY was ordered to depart from York-Place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it really belonged to the see of York, was seized by Henry, and became afterwards the residence of the kings of England, by the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were also seized: Their riches and splendor befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold or cloth of silver: He had a cupboard of

³⁵ Cavendish, p. 41.

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plate of massy gold: There were found a thousand pieces of fine holland belonging to him. The rest of his riches and furniture was in proportion; and his opulence was probably no small inducement to this violent persecution against him.

THE cardinal was ordered to retire to Asher, a country seat which he possessed near Hampton-Court. The world, that had paid him such abject court during his prosperity, now entirely deserted him, on this fatal reverse of all his fortunes. He himself was much dejected with the change; and from the same turn of mind, which had made him be so vainly elated with his grandeur, he felt the stroke of adversity with double rigor³⁶. The smallest appearance of his return to favor threw him into transports of joy, unbecoming a man. The king had seemed willing, during some time, to intermit the blows, which overwhelmed him. He granted him his protection, and left him in possession of the sees of York and Winchester. He even sent him a gracious message, accompanied with a ring, as a testimony of his affection. Wolsey, who was on horseback when the messenger met him, immediately alighted; and throwing himself on his knees in the mire, received in that humble attitude these marks of his majesty's gracious disposition towards him³⁷.

BUT his enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceased plying the king with accounts

³⁶ Strype, vol. i. p. 114, 115. App. N° 31. &c.

³⁷ Stowe, p. 547.

of his several offences; and Anne Boleyn in particular contributed her endeavours, in conjunction with her uncle the duke of Norfolk, to exclude him from all hopes of ever being reinstated in his former authority. He dismissed therefore his numerous retinue: and as he was a kind and beneficent master, the separation passed not without a plentiful effusion of tears on both sides³⁸. The king's heart, notwithstanding some gleams of kindness, seemed now totally hardened against his old favorite. He ordered him to be indicted in the Star Chamber, where a sentence was passed against him. And not content with this severity, he abandoned him to all the rigor of the parliament, which now, after a long interval, was again assembled. The house of lords voted a long charge against Wolsey, consisting of forty-four articles; and accompanied it with an application to the king for his punishment, and his removal from all authority. Little opposition was made to this charge in the upper house: No evidence of any part of it was so much as called for; and as it chiefly consists of general accusations, it was scarcely susceptible of any³⁹. The articles were sent down to the house of commons; where Thomas Cromwel, formerly a servant of the cardinal's, and who had been raised by him from a very low station, defended his unfortunate patron with such spirit, generosity, and courage,

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November.

³⁸ Cavendish. Stowe, p. 549.

³⁹ See note [C] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. as acquired him great honor, and laid the foundation of that favor, which he afterwards enjoyed with the king.
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WOLSEY's enemies, finding that either his innocence or his caution prevented them from having any just ground of accusing him, had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was laid against him; that, contrary to a statute of Richard II. commonly called the statute of provisors, he had procured bulls from Rome, particularly one investing him with the legantine power, which he had exercised with very extensive authority. He confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the statute, and threw himself on the king's mercy. He was perhaps within reach of the law; but besides that this statute had fallen into disuse, nothing could be more rigorous and severe than to impute to him as a crime, what he had openly, during the course of so many years, practised with the consent and approbation of the king, and the acquiescence of the parliament and kingdom. Not to mention, what he always asserted⁴⁰, and what we can scarcely doubt of, that he had obtained the royal licence in the most formal manner, which, had he not been apprehensive of the dangers attending any opposition to Henry's lawless will, he might have pleaded in his own defence before the judges. Sentence, however, was pronounced against him, "That he was

⁴⁰ Cavendish, p. 72.

“ out of the king’s protection ; his lands and
 “ goods forfeited ; and that his person might be
 “ committed to custody. ” But this prosecution
 of Wolsey was carried no farther. Henry even
 granted him a pardon for all offences ; restored
 him part of his plate and furniture ; and still con-
 tinued, from time to time, to drop expressions
 of favor and compassion towards him.

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THE complaints against the usurpations of the
 ecclesiastics had been very ancient in England,
 as well as in most other European kingdoms ;
 and this topic was now become popular
 every where, it had paved the way for the
 Lutheran tenets, and reconciled the people, in
 some measure, to the frightful idea of heresy and
 innovation. The commons, finding the occasion
 favorable, passed several bills, restraining the im-
 positions of the clergy ; one for the regulating of
 mortuaries ; another against the exactions for the
 probates of wills ⁴¹ ; a third against non-residence
 and pluralities, and against churchmen’s being
 farmers of land. But what appeared chiefly dan-
 gerous to the ecclesiastical order, were the severe
 invectives thrown out, almost without opposition,
 in the house, against the dissolute lives of the
 priests, their ambition, their avarice, and their
 endless encroachments on the laity. Lord Herbert ⁴²
 has even preserved the speech of a gentleman of

Commence-
ment of the
reformation
in England.

⁴¹ These exactions were quite arbitrary, and had risen to
 a great height. A member said in the house, that a thou-
 sand marks had been exacted from him on that account.
 Hall, fol. 188. Strype, vol. i. p. 73.

⁴² P. 293.

C H A P. Gray's - Inn, which is of a singular nature, and
XXX. contains such topics as we should little expect to
1529. meet with during that period. The member insists upon the vast variety of theological opinions, which prevailed in different nations and ages; the endless inextricable controversies maintained by the several sects; the impossibility, that any man, much less the people, could ever know, much less examine, the tenets and principles of every sect; the necessity of ignorance and a suspense of judgment with regard to all those objects of dispute: And upon the whole, he infers, that the only religion obligatory on mankind is the belief of one supreme Being, the author of nature; and the necessity of good morals, in order to obtain his favor and protection. Such sentiments would be deemed latitudinarian, even in our time, and would not be advanced, without some precaution, in a public assembly. But though the first broaching of religious controversy might encourage the sceptical turn in a few persons of a studious disposition; the zeal, with which men soon after attached themselves to their several parties, served effectually to banish for a long time all such obnoxious liberties.

THE bills for regulating the clergy met with some opposition in the house of lords. Bishop Fisher in particular imputed these measures of the commons to their want of faith; and to a formed design, derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion. The duke

of Norfolk reproved the prelate in severe, and even somewhat indecent terms. He told him, that the greatest clerks were not always the wisest men. But Fisher replied, that he did not remember any fools in his time, who had proved great clerks. The exceptions taken at the bishop of Rochester's speech stopped not there. The commons, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Audley, their speaker, made complaints to the king of the reflections thrown upon them; and the bishop was obliged to put a more favorable construction on his words⁴³.

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HENRY was not displeased, that the court of Rome and the clergy should be sensible, that they were entirely dependent on him, and that his parliament, if he were willing to second their inclinations, was sufficiently disposed to reduce the power and privileges of the ecclesiastics. The commons gratified the king in another particular of moment: They granted him a discharge of all those debts, which he had contracted since the beginning of his reign: and they grounded this bill, which occasioned many complaints, on a pretence of the king's great care of the nation, and of his regularly employing all the money, which he had borrowed, in the public service. Most of the king's creditors consisted of friends to the cardinal, who had been engaged by their patron to contribute to the supply of Henry's necessities; and the present courtiers were well

⁴³ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 59. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 82.

CHAP. pleased to take the opportunity of mulcting
 XXX. them ⁴⁴. Several also approved of an expedient,
 1529. which, they hoped, would ever after discredit
 a method of supply, so irregular and so unparliamentary.

Foreign af-
 fairs.

THE domestic transactions of England were at present so interesting to the king, that they chiefly engaged his attention; and he regarded foreign affairs only in subordination to them. He had declared war against the emperor; but the mutual advantages reaped by the commerce between England and the Netherlands, had engaged him to stipulate a neutrality with those provinces; and except by money contributed to the Italian wars, he had in effect exercised no hostility against any of the Imperial dominions. A general peace was this summer established in Europe. Margaret of Austria and Louisa of Savoy met at Cambray, and settled the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor. Charles accepted of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy; and he delivered up the two princes of France, whom he had retained as hostages. Henry was, on this occasion, so generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he sent him an acquittal of near 600,000 crowns, which that prince owed him. Francis's Italian confederates were not so well satisfied as the king with the peace of Cambray: They were almost wholly abandoned to the will of the

⁴⁴ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83.

emperor ; and seemed to have no means of security left , but his equity and moderation. Florence , after a brave resistance , was subdued by the Imperial arms, and finally delivered over to the dominion of the family of Medicis. The Venetians were better treated: They were only obliged to relinquish some acquisitions , which they had made on the coast of Naples. Even Francis Sforza obtained the investiture of Milan, and was pardoned for all past offences. The emperor in person passed into Italy with a magnificent train , and received the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope at Bologna. He was but twenty-nine years of age ; and having already , by his vigor and capacity , succeeded in every enterprize, and reduced to captivity the two greatest potentates in Europe , the one spiritual, the other temporal, he attracted the eyes of all men ; and many prognostications were formed of his growing empire.

BUT though Charles seemed to be prosperous on every side , and though the conquest of Mexico and Peru now began to prevent that scarcity of money , under which he had hitherto labored , he found himself threatened with difficulties in Germany ; and his desire of surmounting them was the chief cause of his granting such moderate conditions to the Italian powers. Sultan Solyman, the greatest and most accomplished prince that ever sat on the Ottoman throne , had almost entirely subdued Hungary , had besieged Vienna, and though repulsed , still

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C H A P. XXX. 1529. menaced the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria with conquest and subjection. The Lutheran princes of the empire, finding that liberty of conscience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and because they protested against the votes passed in the Imperial diet, they thenceforth received the appellation of *protestants*. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and on pretence of securing the purity of religion, he had laid a scheme for aggrandizing his own family, by extending its dominion over all Germany.

THE friendship of Henry was one material circumstance yet wanting to Charles, in order to ensure success in his ambitious enterprises; and the king was sufficiently apprized, that the concurrence of that prince would at once remove all the difficulties, which lay in the way of his divorce; that point, which had long been the object of his most earnest wishes. But besides that the interests of his kingdom seemed to require an alliance with France, his haughty spirit could not submit to a friendship imposed on him by constraint; and as he had ever been accustomed to receive courtship, deference, and solicitation from the greatest potentates, he could ill brook that dependence, to which this unhappy affair seemed to have reduced him. Amidst the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexions with the court of Rome; and though he had been educated in a

superstitious reverence to papal authority, it is C H A P.
likely, that his personal experience of the dupli- XXX.
city and selfish politics of Clement, had served 1529.
much to open his eyes in that particular. He
found his prerogative firmly established at home:
He observed, that his people were in general
much disgusted with clerical usurpations, and
disposed to reduce the powers and privileges
of the ecclesiastical order: He knew that they
had cordially taken part with him in his prosecu-
tion of the divorce, and highly resented the
unworthy treatment, which, after so many ser-
vices and such devoted attachment, he had re-
ceived from the court of Rome. Anne Boleyn
also could not fail to use all her efforts, and
employ every insinuation, in order to make him
proceed to extremities against the pope; both as
it was the readiest way to her attaining royal
dignity; and as her education in the court of the
dutcheſs of Alençon, a princeſs inclined to the
reformers, had already diſpoſed her to a belief
of the new doctrines. But notwithstanding theſe
inducements, Henry had ſtrong motives ſtill to
deſire a good agreement with the ſovereign pon-
tiff. He apprehended the danger of ſuch great
innovations: He dreaded the reproach of hereſy:
He abhorred all connexions with the Lutherans,
the chief opponents of the papal power: And
having once exerted himſelf with ſuch applauſe,
as he imagined, in defence of the Romiſh com-
munion, he was aſhamed to retract his former
opinions, and betray from paſſion ſuch a palpable

C H A P. inconsistency. While he was agitated by these
XXX. contrary motives, an expedient was proposed,
1529. which, as it promised a solution of all difficulties,
 was embraced by him with the greatest joy and
 satisfaction.

The univer-
 sities con-
 sulted about
 the king's
 marriage.

DR. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus-College
 in Cambridge, was a man remarkable in that
 university for his learning, and still more, for
 the candor and disinterestedness of his temper.
 He fell one evening by accident into company
 with Gardiner, now secretary of state, and Fox,
 the king's almoner; and as the business of the
 divorce became the subject of conversation, he
 observed, that the readiest way, either to quiet
 Henry's conscience or extort the pope's consent,
 would be to consult all the universities of Europe
 with regard to this controverted point: if they
 agreed to approve of the king's marriage with
 Catherine, his remorse would naturally cease;
 if they condemned it, the pope would find it
 difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a
 monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the
 learned men in Christendom⁴⁵. When the king
 was informed of the proposal, he was delighted
 with it; and swore, with more alacrity than
 delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right sow by
 the ear: He sent for that divine; entered into
 conversation with him; conceived a high opinion
 of his virtue and understanding; engaged him to
 write in defence of the divorce; and immediately,

⁴⁵ Fox, p. 1860. 2d edit. Burnet, vol. i. p. 79. Speed,
 p. 769. Heylin. p. 5.

in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe.

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HAD the question of Henry's marriage with Catherine been examined by the principles of sound philosophy, exempt from superstition, it seemed not liable to much difficulty. The natural reason, why marriage in certain degrees is prohibited by the civil laws, and condemned by the moral sentiments, of all nations, is derived from men's care to preserve purity of manners; while they reflect, that, if a commerce of love were authorized between near relations, the frequent opportunities of intimate conversation, especially during early youth, would introduce an universal dissoluteness and corruption. But as the customs of countries vary considerably, and open an intercourse, more or less restrained, between different families, or between the several members of the same family, we find, that the moral precept, varying with its cause, is susceptible, without any inconvenience, of very different latitude in the several ages and nations of the world. The extreme delicacy of the Greeks permitted no communication between persons of different sexes, except where they lived under the same roof; and even the apartments of a step-mother, and her daughters, were almost as much shut up against visits from the husband's sons, as against those from any stranger or more distant relation: Hence, in that nation, it was lawful for a man to marry, not only his niece,

C. H. A. P. but his half-sister by the father: A liberty un-
 XXX. known to the Romans, and other nations, where
 1529. a more open intercourse was authorized between
 the sexes. Reasoning from this principle, it
 would appear, that the ordinary commerce of
 life, among great princes, is so obstructed by
 ceremony and numerous attendants, that no ill
 consequence would result, among them, from
 marrying a brother's widow; especially if the
 dispensation of the supreme priest be previously
 required, in order to justify what may in com-
 mon cases be condemned, and to hinder the
 precedent from becoming too common and
 familiar. And as strong motives of public interest
 and tranquillity may frequently require such
 alliances between the sovereign families, there is
 the less reason for extending towards them the
 full rigor of the rule, which has place among
 individuals ⁴⁶.

BUT in opposition to these reasons, and many
 more which might be collected, Henry had
 custom and precedent on his side, the principle
 by which men are almost wholly governed in
 their actions and opinions. The marrying of a
 brother's widow was so unusual, that no other
 instance of it could be found in any history or
 record of any Christian nation; and though the
 popes were accustomed to dispense with more
 essential precepts of morality, and even permitted
 marriages within other prohibited degrees, such

⁴⁶ See note [D] at the end of the volume.

as those of uncle and niece, the imaginations of men were not yet reconciled to this particular exercise of his authority. Several universities of Europe, therefore, without hesitation, as well as without interest or reward ⁴⁷, gave verdict in the king's favor; not only those of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Toulouse, Angers, which might be supposed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; but also those of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua; even Bologna itself, though under the immediate jurisdiction of Clement. Oxford alone ⁴⁸ and Cambridge ⁴⁹ made some difficulty; because these universities, alarmed at the progress of Lutheranism, and dreading a defection from the holy see, scrupled to give their sanction to measures, whose consequences, they feared, would prove fatal to the ancient religion. Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other universities of Europe, was at last obtained; and the king, in order to give more weight to all these authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the pope, recommending his cause to the holy father, and threatening him with the most dangerous consequences in case of a denial of justice ⁵⁰. The convocations too, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the

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1530

⁴⁷ Herbert. Burnet. ⁴⁸ Wood, hist. and ant. Ox. lib. i. p. 225. ⁴⁹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 6.

⁵⁰ Rymer, vol. xiv. 405. Burnet, vol. i. p. 95.

C H A P. law of God, with which no human power had
 XXX. authority to dispense ⁵¹. But Clement, lying still
 1530. under the influence of the emperor, continued to
 summon the king to appear, either by himself
 or proxy, before his tribunal at Rome; and the
 king, who knew that he could expect no fair
 trial there, refused to submit to such a condition,
 and would not even admit of any citation, which
 he regarded as a high insult, and a violation of
 his royal prerogative. The father of Anne Boleyn,
 created earl of Wiltshire, carried to the pope the
 king's reasons for not appearing by proxy; and,
 as the first instance of disrespect from England,
 refused to kiss his holiness's foot, which he very
 graciously held out to him for that purpose ⁵².

THE extremities, to which Henry was pushed,
 both against the pope and the ecclesiastical order,
 were naturally disagreeable to cardinal Wolsey;
 and as Henry foresaw his opposition, it is the
 most probable reason that can be assigned for his
 renewing the prosecution against his ancient
 favorite. After Wolsey had remained some
 time at Asher, he was allowed to remove to
 Richmond, a palace which he had received as
 a present from Henry, in return for Hampton-
 Court: But the courtiers, dreading still his vic-
 inity to the king, procured an order for him to
 remove to his see of York. The cardinal knew
 it was in vain to resist: He took up his

⁵¹ Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 454. 472.

⁵² Burnet, vol. i. p. 94.

residence at Cawood in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighbourhood, by his affability and hospitality⁵³; but he was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolsey's ecclesiastical character, to arrest him for high treason, and to conduct him to London, in order to his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was seized with a disorder which turned into a dysentery; and he was able, with some difficulty, to reach Leicester-abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much respect and reverence, he told them, that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose more. A little before he expired, he addressed himself in the following words to Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who had him in custody. "I pray you, have me heartily recommended unto his royal majesty, and beseech him on my behalf to call to his remembrance all matters that have passed between us from the beginning, especially with regard to his business with the queen; and then will he know in his conscience whether I have offended him."

Nov. 28.

"He is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart: And rather than he

⁵³ Cavendish. Stowe, p. 554.

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“ will miss for want any part of his will, he will
 “ endanger the one half of his kingdom.

“ I DO assure you, that I have often kneeled
 “ before him, sometimes three hours together,
 “ to persuade him from his will and appetite; but
 “ could not prevail: Had I but served God as
 “ diligently as I have served the king, he would
 “ not have given me over in my grey hairs. But
 “ this is the just reward that I must receive for
 “ my indulgent pains and study, not regarding
 “ my service to God, but only to my prince.
 “ Therefore, let me advise you, if you be one
 “ of the privy-council, as by your wisdom you
 “ are fit, take care what you put into the king’s
 “ head: For you can never put it out again⁵⁴. ”

Wolfey’s
 death.

THUS died this famous cardinal, whose character seems to have contained as singular a variety, as the fortune to which he was exposed. The obstinacy and violence of the king’s temper may alleviate much of the blame, which some of his favorite’s measures have undergone; and when we consider, that the subsequent part of Henry’s reign was much more criminal than that which had been directed by Wolfey’s counsels, we shall be inclined to suspect those historians of partiality, who have endeavoured to load the memory of this minister with such violent reproaches. If, in foreign politics, he sometimes employed his influence over the king for his private purposes, rather than his master’s service, which, he boasted,

⁵⁴ Cavendish.

he had solely at heart; we must remember, that C H A P.
 he had in view the papal throne; a dignity, XXX.
 which, had he attained it, would have enabled
 him to make Henry a suitable return for all his
 favors. The cardinal of Amboise, whose memory
 is respected in France, always made this apology
 for his own conduct, which was, in some respect,
 similar to Wolsey's; and we have reason to think,
 that Henry was well acquainted with the views
 by which his minister was influenced, and took
 a pride in promoting them. He much regretted
 his death, when informed of it; and always spoke
 favorably of his memory: A proof, that humor
 more than reason, or any discovery of treachery,
 had occasioned the last persecutions against him.

A NEW session of parliament was held, together
 with a convocation; and the king here gave strong
 proofs of his extensive authority, as well as of
 his intention to turn it to the depression of the
 clergy. As an ancient statute, now almost ob-
 solete, had been employed to ruin Wolsey, and
 render his exercise of the legantine power criminal,
 notwithstanding the king's permission; the same
 law was now turned against the ecclesiastics. It
 was pretended, that every one, who had submit-
 ted to the legantine court, that is, the whole
 church, had violated the statute of provisors; and
 the attorney-general accordingly brought an in-
 dictment against them⁵⁵. The convocation knew,
 that it would be in vain to oppose reason or

1537.
 16 January
 A parlia-
 ment.

⁵⁵ Antiq. Brit. Eccles. p. 325. Burnet, vol. i. p. 106.

C H A P.
XXX.
1531.

equity to the king's arbitrary will, or plead that their ruin would have been the certain consequence of not submitting to Wolsey's commission, which was procured by Henry's consent, and supported by his authority. They chose therefore to throw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign; and they agreed to pay 118,840 pounds for a pardon⁵⁶. A confession was likewise extorted from them, that *the king was the protector and the supreme head of the church and clergy of England*; though some of them had the dexterity to get a clause inserted, which invalidated the whole submission, and which ran in these terms, *in so far as is permitted by the law of Christ*.

THE commons, finding that a pardon was granted the clergy, began to be apprehensive for themselves, lest either they should afterwards be brought into trouble on account of their submission to the legantine court, or a supply, in like manner, be extorted from them, in return for their pardon. They therefore petitioned the king, to grant a remission to his lay subjects; but they met with a repulse. He told them, that if he ever chose to forgive their offence, it would be from his own goodness, not from their application, lest he should seem to be compelled to it. Some time after, when they despaired of obtaining this concession, he was pleased to issue a pardon to the laity; and the commons expressed great gratitude for that act of clemency⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ Hollingshed, p. 923.

⁵⁷ Hall's chronicle, Hollingshed, p. 923. Baker, p. 208.

By this strict execution of the statute of pro-
visors, a great part of the profit, and still more
of the power, of the court of Rome was cut off;
and the connexions between the pope and the
English clergy were, in some measure, dissolved.
The next session found both king and parliament
in the same dispositions. An act was passed against
levying the annates or first fruits⁵⁸; being a year's
rent of all the bishoprics that fell vacant: a tax
which was imposed by the court of Rome for
granting bulls to the new prelates, and which
was found to amount to considerable sums. Since
the second of Henry VII. no less than one hundred
and sixty thousand pounds had been transmitted
to Rome, on account of this claim; which the
parliament, therefore, reduced to five per cent.
on all the episcopal benefices. The better to keep
the pope in awe, the king was intrusted with a
power of regulating these payments, and of con-
firming or infringing this act at his pleasure: And
it was voted, that any censures, which should
be passed by the court of Rome, on account of
that law, should be entirely disregarded, and
that mass should be said, and the sacraments
administered, as if no such censures had been
issued.

C H A P.
XXX.
1532.

15 January.

Progress of
the reform-
ation.

THIS session the commons preferred to the king
a long complaint against the abuses and oppres-
sions of the ecclesiastical courts; and they were
proceeding to enact laws for remedying them,

⁵⁸ Burnet, vol. i. Collect. N° 41. Strype, vol. i. p. 144.

C H A P. when a difference arose, which put an end to
 XXX. the session, before the parliament had finished all
 1532. their business. It was become a custom for men
 to make such settlements, or trust deeds, of their
 lands by will, that they defrauded, not only the
 king, but all other lords, of their wards, mar-
 riages, and reliefs; and by the same artifice the
 king was deprived of his premier feizin, and the
 profits of the livery, which were no inconsiderable
 branches of his revenue. Henry made a bill be
 drawn to moderate, not remedy altogether, this
 abuse: He was contented, that every man should
 have the liberty of disposing in this manner of
 the half of his land; and he told the parliament
 in plain terms, "If they would not take a reason-
 " able thing, when it was offered, he would
 " search out the extremity of the law; and then
 " would not offer them so much again." The
 lords came willingly into his terms; but the com-
 mons rejected the bill: A singular instance, where
 Henry might see, that his power and authority,
 though extensive, had yet some boundaries. The
 commons, however, found reason to repent of
 their victory. The king made good his threats:
 He called together the judges and ablest lawyers,
 who argued the question in chancery; and it was
 decided, that a man could not by law bequeath
 any part of his lands, in prejudice of his heir⁵⁹.

10 April. THE parliament being again assembled after a
 short prorogation, the king caused the two oaths

⁵⁹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 116. Hall. Parliamentary history.

to be read to them, that which the bishops took to the pope, and that to the king, on their installation; and as a contradiction might be suspected between them, while the prelates seemed to swear allegiance to two sovereigns⁶⁰; the parliament showed their intention of abolishing the oath to the pope, when their proceedings were suddenly stopped by the breaking out of the plague at Westminster, which occasioned a prorogation. It is remarkable, that one Temse ventured this session to move, that the house should address the king, to take back the queen, and stop the prosecution of his divorce. This motion made the king send for Audley, the speaker: And explain to him the scruples, with which his conscience had long been burdened; scruples, he said, which had proceeded from no wanton appetite, which had arisen after the fervors of youth were past, and which were confirmed by the concurring sentiments of all the learned societies in Europe. Except in Spain and Portugal, he added, it was never heard of, that any man had espoused two sisters; but he himself had the misfortune, he believed, to be the first Christian man that had ever married his brother's widow⁶¹.

AFTER the prorogation, Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, foreseeing that all the measures of the king and parliament led to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his principles would not permit him

⁶⁰ Burnet, vol. i. p. 123, 124. ⁶¹ Herbert. Hall, fol. 205.

C H A P. to concur, desired leave to resign the great seal;
 XXX. and he descended from his high station with more
 1532. joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The austerity of this man's virtue, and the sanctity of his manners, had no wise encroached on the gentleness of his temper, or even diminished that frolic and gaiety, to which he was naturally inclined. He sported with all the varieties of fortune into which he was thrown; and neither the pride, naturally attending a high station, nor the melancholy incident to poverty and retreat, could ever lay hold of his serene and equal spirit. While his family discovered symptoms of sorrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence, to which they had been accustomed, he drew a subject of mirth from their distresses; and made them ashamed of losing even a moment's cheerfulness, on account of such trivial misfortunes. The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, received his resignation with some difficulty; and he delivered the great seal soon after to Sir Thomas Audley.

DURING these transactions in England, and these invasions of the papal and ecclesiastical authority, the court of Rome was not without solicitude; and she entertained just apprehensions of losing entirely her authority in England; the kingdom, which, of all others, had long been the most devoted to the holy see, and which had yielded it the most ample revenue. While the Imperial cardinals pushed Clement to proceed to extremities against the king, his more moderate

and impartial counsellors represented to him the c H A P.
indignity of his proceedings; that a great monarch, XXX.
who had signalized himself, both by his pen and 1532.
his sword, in the cause of the pope, should be
denied a favor, which he demanded on such just
grounds, and which had scarcely ever before
been refused to any person of his rank and station.
Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the queen's
appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited
to appear; and several consistories were held, to
examine the validity of their marriage. Henry
was determined not to send any proxy to plead
his cause before this court: He only dispatched
Sir Edward Karne and Dr. Bonner, in quality of
excusators, so they were called, to carry his
apology, for not paying that deference to the
papal authority. The prerogatives of his crown,
he said, must be sacrificed, if he allowed appeals
from his own kingdom; and as the question re-
garded conscience, not power or interest, no
proxy could supply his place, or convey that
satisfaction, which the dictates of his own mind
alone could confer. In order to support himself
in this measure, and add greater security to his
intended defection from Rome, he procured an
interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, 11th Oct.
where he renewed his personal friendship, as well
as public alliance, with that monarch, and con-
certed all measures for their mutual defence. He
even employed arguments, by which, he believed,
he had persuaded Francis to imitate his example
in withdrawing his obedience from the bishop of

C H A P. XXX. 14 Nov. Rome, and administering ecclesiastical affairs without having farther recourse to that see. And being now fully determined in his own mind, as well as resolute to stand all consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created marchioness of Pembroke. Rowland Lee, soon after raised to the bishopric of Coventry, officiated at the marriage. The duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and brother, together with Dr. Cranmer, were present at the ceremony⁶². Anne became pregnant soon after her marriage: And this event, both gave great satisfaction to the king, and was regarded by the people as a strong proof of the queen's former modesty and virtue.

1533.
4th Feb.
A parliament.

THE parliament was again assembled: And Henry, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, proceeded still in those gradual and secure steps, by which they loosened their connexions with the see of Rome, and repressed the usurpations of the Roman pontiff. An act was made against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other suits cognizable in ecclesiastical courts; appeals esteemed dishonorable to the kingdom, by subjecting it to a foreign jurisdiction; and found to be very vexatious, by the expence and the delay of justice, which necessarily attended them⁶³. The more to show his disregard to the pope, Henry, finding

⁶² Herbert, p. 340, 341.

⁶³ 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned his marriage; and in order to remove all doubts with regard to its lawfulness, he prepared measures for declaring, by a formal sentence, the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine: A sentence which ought naturally to have preceded his espousing of Anne ⁶⁴.

C H A P.

XXX.

1533.

12th April,

THE king, even amidst his scruples and remorse on account of his first marriage, had always treated Catherine with respect and distinction; and he endeavoured, by every soft and persuasive art, to engage her to depart from her appeal to Rome, and her opposition to his divorce. Finding her obstinate in maintaining the justice of her cause, he had totally forborn all visits and intercourse with her; and had desired her to make choice of any one of his palaces, in which she should please to reside. She had fixed her abode for some time at Amphyll near Dunstable; and it was in this latter town that Cranmer, now created archbishop of Canterbury, on the death of Warham ⁶⁵, was appointed to open his court for examining the validity of her marriage. The near neighbourhood of the place was chosen, in order to deprive her of all plea of ignorance: And as she made no answer to the citation, either by herself or proxy, she was declared *contumacious*; and the primate proceeded to the examination of the cause. The evidences of Arthur's consummation of his

10th May.

⁶⁴ Collier, vol. ii. p. 31. and Records, N° 8.

⁶⁵ See note [E] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. marriage were anew produced; the opinions of
 XXX. the universities were read, together with the
 1533. judgment pronounced two years before by the
 convocations both of Canterbury and York; and
 after these preliminary steps, Cranmer proceeded
 to a sentence, and annulled the king's marriage
 with Catherine, as unlawful and invalid. By a
 subsequent sentence, he ratified the marriage with
 Anne Boleyn, who soon after was publicly
 crowned Queen, with all the pomp and dignity
 suited to that ceremony ⁶⁶. To complete the
 king's satisfaction on the conclusion of this intricate
 and vexatious affair, she was safely delivered of a
 daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth,
 and who afterwards swayed the sceptre with such
 renown and felicity. Henry was so much de-
 lighted with the birth of this child, that soon
 after he conferred on her the title of princess of
 Wales ⁶⁷; a step somewhat irregular, as she could
 only be presumptive, not apparent heir of the
 crown. But he had, during his former marriage,
 thought proper to honor his daughter Mary with
 that title; and he was determined to bestow, on
 the offspring of his present marriage, the same
 mark of distinction, as well as to exclude the elder
 princess from all hopes of the succession. His
 regard for the new queen seemed rather to increase
 than diminish by his marriage; and all men ex-
 pected to see the entire ascendant of one who had
 mounted a throne, from which her birth had set
 her at so great a distance, and who, by a proper

7th Sept.

⁶⁶ Heylin, p. 6.

⁶⁷ Burnet, vol. i. p. 134.

C H A P.

XXX.

1533.

mixture of severity and indulgence, had long managed so intractable a spirit as that of Henry. In order to efface, as much as possible, all marks of his first marriage, Lord Mountjoy was sent to the unfortunate and divorced queen, to inform her, that she was thenceforth to be treated only as princess dowager of Wales; and all means were employed to make her acquiesce in that determination. But she continued obstinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage; and she would admit no person to her presence, who did not approach her with the accustomed ceremonial. Henry, forgetting his wonted generosity towards her, employed menaces against such of her servants as complied with her commands in this particular; but was never able to make her relinquish her title and pretensions⁶⁸.

WHEN intelligence was conveyed to Rome of these transactions, so injurious to the authority and reputation of the holy see, the conclave was in a rage, and all the cardinals of the Imperial faction urged the pope to proceed to a definitive sentence, and to dart his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement proceeded no farther than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's sentence, as well as that of Henry's second marriage; threatening him with excommunication, if, before the first of November ensuing, he did not replace every thing in the condition in which it formerly stood⁶⁹. An event had happened, from which

⁶⁸ Herbert, p. 326. Burnet, vol. i. p. 132.

⁶⁹ Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 566.

CHAP. the pontiff expected a more amicable conclusion
 XXX. of the difference, and which hindered him from
 1533. carrying matters to extremity against the king.

THE pope had claims upon the dutchy of Ferrara for the sovereignty of Reggio and Modena⁷⁰; and having submitted his pretensions to the arbitration of the emperor, he was surprised to find a sentence pronounced against him. Enraged at this disappointment, he hearkened to proposals of amity from Francis; and when that monarch made overtures of marrying the duke of Orleans, his second son, to Catherine of Medicis, niece of the pope, Clement gladly embraced an alliance, by which his family was so much honored. An interview was even appointed between the pope and French king at Marseilles; and Francis, as a common friend, there employed his good offices in mediating an accommodation between his new ally and the king of England.

HAD this connexion of France with the court of Rome taken place a few years sooner, there had been little difficulty in adjusting the quarrel with Henry. The king's request was an ordinary one; and the same plenary power of the pope, which had granted a dispensation for his espousing of Catherine, could easily have annulled the marriage. But, in the progress of the quarrel, the state of affairs was much changed on both sides. Henry had shaken off much of that reverence, which he had early imbibed for the

⁷⁰ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 133. Guicciardini.

apostolic see; and finding, that his subjects of all ranks had taken part with him, and willingly complied with his measures for breaking off foreign dependence, he had begun to relish his spiritual authority, and would scarcely, it was apprehended, be induced to renew his submissions to the Roman pontiff. The pope on the other hand, now ran a manifest risque of infringing his authority by a compliance with the king; and as a sentence of divorce could no longer be rested on nullities in Julius's bull, but would be construed as an acknowledgment of papal usurpations, it was foreseen, that the Lutherans would thence take occasion of triumph, and would persevere more obstinately in their present principles. But notwithstanding these obstacles, Francis did not despair of mediating an agreement. He observed that the king had still some remains of prejudice in favor of the catholic church, and was apprehensive of the consequences, which might ensue from too violent innovations. He saw the interest that Clement had in preserving the obedience of England, which was one of the richest jewels in the papal crown. And he hoped, that these motives on both sides would facilitate a mutual agreement, and would forward the effects of his good offices.

FRANCIS first prevailed on the pope to promise, that, if the king would send a proxy to Rome, and thereby submit his cause to the holy see, he should appoint commissioners to meet at Cambray, and form the process; and he should immediately

C H A P. afterwards pronounce the sentence of divorce;
XXX. required of him. Bellay, bishop of Paris, was
1534. next dispatched to London, and obtained a promise from the king, that he would submit his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the cardinals of the Imperial faction were excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promise to Rome; and the pope agreed, that, if the king would sign a written agreement to the same purpose, his demands should be fully complied with. A day was appointed for the return of the messengers; and all Europe regarded this affair, which had threatened a violent rupture between England and the Romish church, as drawing towards an amicable conclusion ⁷¹. But the greatest affairs often depend on the most frivolous incidents. The courier, who carried the king's written promise, was detained beyond the day appointed: News was brought to Rome that a libel had been published in England against the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king in derision of the pope and cardinals ⁷². The pope and cardinals entered into the consistory inflamed with anger; and by a precipitate sentence, the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated, if he refused to adhere to it. Two days after, the courier arrived; and Clement, who had been hurried from his usual prudence, found, that, though he heartily repented of this hasty measure,

Kings final
breach with
Rome.

23d March.

⁷¹ Father Paul, lib. 1. ⁷² Ibid.

it would be difficult for him to retract it, or replace affairs on the same footing as before. C H A P.
XXX.

1534.

It is not probable, that the pope, had he conducted himself with ever so great moderation and temper, could hope, during the life-time of Henry, to have regained much authority or influence in England. That monarch was of a temper both impetuous and obstinate; and having proceeded so far in throwing off the papal yoke, he never could again have been brought tamely to bend his neck to it. Even at the time, when he was negotiating a reconciliation with Rome, he either entertained so little hopes of success, or was so indifferent about the event, that he had assembled a Parliament, and continued to enact laws totally destructive of the papal authority. 15th Jan.

A parlia-
ment. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation. Each preceding session had retrenched somewhat from the power and profits of the pontiff. Care had been taken, during some years, to teach the nation, that a general council was much superior to a pope. But now a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's cross, in order to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was entitled to no authority at all beyond the bounds of his own diocese⁷³. The proceedings of the parliament showed that they had entirely adopted this opinion; and there is reason to believe, that the king, after having procured a favorable sentence from Rome, which would have removed

⁷³ Burnet, vol. i. p. 144.

C H A P. all doubts with regard to his second marriage and
 XXX. the succession, might indeed have lived on terms
 1534. of civility with the Roman pontiff, but never
 would have surrendered to him any considerable
 share of his assumed prerogative. The importance
 of the laws, passed this session, even before in-
 telligence arrived of the violent resolutions taken
 at Rome, is sufficient to justify this opinion.

ALL payments made to the apostolic chamber;
 all provisions, bulls, dispensations, were abolished;
 Monasteries were subjected to the visitation and
 government of the king alone: The law for
 punishing heretics was moderated; the ordinary
 was prohibited from imprisoning or trying any
 person upon suspicion alone, without presentment
 by two lawful witnesses; and it was declared that
 to speak against the pope's authority was no
 heresy: Bishops were to be appointed, by a
congé d'élire from the crown, or in case of the
 dean and chapter's refusal, by letters patent; and
 no recourse was to be had to Rome for palls,
 bulls, or provisions: Campeggio and Ghinucci,
 two Italians, were deprived of the bishoprics of
 Salisbury and Worcester, which they had hitherto
 enjoyed⁷⁴: The law, which had been formerly
 made against paying annates or first fruits, but
 which had been left in the king's power to sus-
 pend or enforce, was finally established: And a
 submission, which was exacted two years before
 from the clergy, and which had been obtained

⁷⁴ Le Neve's Fasti Eccles. Angl.

with great difficulty, received this session the sanction of parliament⁷⁵. In this submission, the clergy acknowledged, that convocations ought to be assembled by the king's authority only; they promise to enact no new canons without his consent; and they agree, that he should appoint thirty-two commissioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate such as should be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative⁷⁶. An appeal was also allowed from the bishop's court to the king in chancery.

C H A P.
XXX.
1534.

BUT the most important law, passed this session, was that which regulated the succession to the crown: The marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect: The primate's sentence, annulling it, was ratified: And the marriage with queen Anne was established and confirmed. The crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage, and failing them, to the king's heirs for ever. An oath likewise was enjoined to be taken in favor of this order of succession, under the penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all slander against the king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the penalty of misprision of treason. After these compliances, the parliament was prorogued; and those acts, so contemptuous towards the pope, and so destructive of his authority, were passed at the very time that Clement pronounced his

30th March.

⁷⁵ 25 H. 8. c. 19.

⁷⁶ Collier, vol. ii. p. 69, 70.

C H A P. **XXX.** **1534.** hasty sentence against the king. Henry's resentment against queen Catherine, on account of her obstinacy, was the reason why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of succeeding to the crown; contrary to his first intentions, when he began the process of divorce, and of dispensation for a second marriage.

THE king found his ecclesiastical subjects as compliant as the laity. The convocation ordered that the act against appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeals from the pope to a general council, should be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom: And they voted that the bishop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop; and that the authority, which he and his predecessors had there exercised, was only by usurpation and by the sufferance of English princes. Four persons alone opposed this vote in the lower house, and one doubted. It passed unanimously in the upper. The bishops went so far in their complaisance, that they took out new commissions from the crown, in which all their spiritual and episcopal authority was expressly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magistrate, and to be entirely dependent on his good pleasure⁷⁷.

THE oath regarding the succession was generally taken throughout the kingdom. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, were the

⁷⁷ Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii.

only persons of note, that entertained scruples with regard to its legality. Fisher was obnoxious on account of some practices, into which his credulity, rather than any bad intentions, seems to have betrayed him. But More was the person of greatest reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and as it was believed, that his authority would have influence on the sentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulness of the oath. He declared, that he had no scruple with regard to the succession, and thought that the parliament had full power to settle it: He offered to draw an oath himself, which would ensure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refused the oath prescribed by law; because the preamble of that oath asserted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied, that his former marriage with Catherine was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer, the primate, and Cromwell, now secretary of state, who highly loved and esteemed More, entreated him to lay aside his scruples; and their friendly importunity seemed to weigh more with him, than all the penalties attending his refusal⁷⁸. He persisted, however, in a mild, though firm manner, to maintain his resolution; and the king, irritated against him as well as Fisher, ordered both to be indicted upon the statute, and committed prisoners to the Tower.

THE parliament, being again assembled, con- 3d Nov.

⁷⁸ Burnet, vol. i. p. 156.

C H A P. XXX. 1534. ferred on the king the title of the only supreme head on earth of the church of England; as they had already invested him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act, the parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, “to visit, and
 “repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain,
 “or amend all errors, heresies, abuses, offences,
 “contempts, and enormities, which fell under
 “any spiritual authority or jurisdiction.” They also declared it treason to attempt, imagine, or speak evil against the king, queen, or his heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tithes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a subsidy and a fifteenth. They attainted More and Fisher for misprision of treason. And they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefit of the English laws.

THUS the authority of the popes, like all exorbitant power, was ruined by the excess of its acquisitions, and by stretching its pretensions beyond what it was possible for any human principles or prepossessions to sustain. Indulgences had in former ages tended extremely to enrich the holy see; but being openly abused, they served to excite the first commotions and opposition in Germany. The prerogative of granting

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dispensations had also contributed much to attach all the sovereign princes and great families in Europe to the papal authority; but meeting with an unlucky concurrence of circumstances, was now the cause, why England separated herself from the Romish communion. The acknowledgment of the king's supremacy introduced there a greater simplicity in the government, by uniting the spiritual with the civil power, and preventing disputes about limits, which never could be exactly determined between the contending jurisdictions. A way was also prepared for checking the exorbitancies of superstition, and breaking those shackles, by which all human reason, policy, and industry had so long been encumbered. The prince, it may be supposed, being head of the religion, as well as of the temporal jurisdiction of the kingdom, though he might sometimes employ the former as an engine of government, had no interest, like the Roman pontiff, in nourishing its excessive growth; and, except when blinded by his own ignorance or bigotry, would be sure to retain it within tolerable limits, and prevent its abuses. And on the whole, there followed from this revolution many beneficial consequences; though perhaps neither foreseen nor intended by the persons who had the chief hand in conducting it.

WHILE Henry proceeded with so much order and tranquillity in changing the national religion, and while his authority seemed entirely secure in

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 XXX. state of affairs in Ireland and in Scotland.

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THE earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland, under the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son, who bore the title of lieutenant; and as Kildare was accused of some violences against the family of Ossory, his hereditary enemies, he was summoned to answer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his son, who, hearing that his father was thrown into prison, and was in danger of his life, immediately took up arms, and joining himself to Oneale, Ocarrol, and other Irish nobility, committed many ravages, murdered Allen, archbishop of Dublin, and laid siege to that city. Kildare meanwhile died in prison, and his son, persevering in his revolt, made applications to the emperor, who promised him assistance. The king was obliged to send over some forces to Ireland, which so harassed the rebels, that this young nobleman, finding the emperor backward in fulfilling his promises, was reduced to the necessity of surrendering himself prisoner to Lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, brother to the marquis of Dorset. He was carried over to England, together with his five uncles; and after trial and conviction, they were all brought to public justice; though two of the uncles, in order to save the family, had pretended to join the king's party.

THE earl of Angus had acquired the entire ascendant in Scotland: and having gotten possession of the king's person, then in early youth,

he was able, by means of that advantage, and by employing the power of his own family, to retain the reins of government. The queen-dowager, however, his consort, bred him great disturbance. For having separated herself from him, on account of some jealousies and disgusts, and having procured a divorce, she had married another man of quality, of the name of Stuart; and she joined all the discontented nobility, who opposed Angus's authority. James himself was dissatisfied with the slavery, to which he was reduced; and by secret correspondence, he incited first Walter Scot, then the earl of Lenox, to attempt, by force of arms, the freeing him from the hands of Angus. Both enterprises failed of success; but James, impatient of restraint, found means at last of escaping to Stirling, where his mother then resided; and having summoned all the nobility to attend him, he overturned the authority of the Douglasses, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly into England, where they were protected by Henry. The king of Scotland, being now arrived at years of majority, took the government into his own hands; and employed himself with great spirit and valor, in repressing those feuds, ravages, and disorders, which, though they disturbed the course of public justice, served to support the martial spirit of the Scots, and contributed, by that means, to maintain national independence. He was desirous of renewing the ancient league with the French nation; but finding Francis in close union with England,

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and on that account somewhat cold in hearkening to his proposals, he received the more favorably the advances of the emperor, who hoped, by means of such an ally, to breed disturbance to England. He offered the Scottish king the choice of three princesses, his own near relations, and all of the name of Mary; his sister the dowager of Hungary, his niece a daughter of Portugal, or his cousin the daughter of Henry, whom he pretended to dispose of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter proposal, had it not, upon reflection, been found impracticable; and his natural propensity to France at last prevailed over all other considerations. The alliance with Francis necessarily engaged James to maintain peace with England. But though invited by his uncle, Henry, to confer with him at Newcastle, and concert common measures for repressing the ecclesiastics in both kingdoms, and shaking off the yoke of Rome, he could not be prevailed on, by entering England, to put himself in the king's power. In order to have a pretext for refusing the conference, he applied to the pope, and obtained a brief, forbidding him to engage in any personal negotiations with an enemy of the holy see. From these measures, Henry easily concluded, that he could very little depend on the friendship of his nephew. But those events took not place till some time after our present period.

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Religious principles of the people — of the king — of the ministers — Farther progress of the reformation — Sir Thomas More — The maid of Kent — Trial and execution of Fisher bishop of Rochester — of Sir Thomas More — King excommunicated — Death of queen Catherine — Suppression of the lesser monasteries — A Parliament — A Convocation — Translation of the Bible — Disgrace of queen Anne — Her trial — and execution — A Parliament — A Convocation — Discontents among the people — Insurrection — Birth of prince Edward and Death of queen Jane — Suppression of the greater monasteries — Cardinal Pole.

THE ancient and almost uninterrupted opposition of interests between the laity and clergy in England, and between the English clergy and the court of Rome, had sufficiently prepared the nation for a breach with the sovereign pontiff; and men had penetration enough to discover abuses, which were plainly calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found destructive of their own. These subjects seemed proportioned to human understanding; and even the people, who felt the power of interest in their own breasts, could perceive the purpose of those numerous inventions, which

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Religious principles of the people.

C H A P. the interested spirit of the Roman pontiff had
 XXXI. introduced into religion. But when the reformers
 1534. proceeded thence to dispute concerning the nature of the sacraments, the operations of grace, the terms of acceptance with the Deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were, during some time, at a loss how to chuse their party. The profound ignorance in which both the clergy and laity formerly lived, and their freedom from theological altercations, had produced a sincere, but indolent acquiescence in received opinions; and the multitude were neither attached to them by topics of reasoning, nor by those prejudices and antipathies against opponents, which have ever a more natural and powerful influence over them. As soon therefore as a new opinion was advanced, supported by such an authority as to call up their attention, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for such disquisitions; and they perpetually fluctuated between the contending parties. Hence the quick and violent movements by which the people were agitated, even in the most opposite directions; Hence their seeming prostitution, in sacrificing to present power the most sacred principles: And hence the rapid progress during some time, and the sudden as well as entire check soon after, of the new doctrines. When men were once settled in their particular sects, and had fortified themselves in a habitual detestation of those who were denominated heretics, they adhered with more obstinacy to the principles of their education;

and the limits of the two religions thenceforth remained fixed and unchangeable.

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NOTHING more forwarded the first progress of the reformers, than the offer, which they made, of submitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the summons given every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him. Though the multitude were totally unqualified for this undertaking, they yet were highly pleased with it. They fancied, that they were exercising their judgment, while they opposed, to the prejudices of ancient authority, more powerful prejudices of another kind. The novelty itself of the doctrines; the pleasure of an imaginary triumph in dispute; the fervent zeal of the reformed preachers; their patience, and even alacrity, in suffering persecution, death, and torments; a disgust at the restraints of the old religion; an indignation against the tyranny and interested spirit of the ecclesiastics; these motives were prevalent with the people, and by such considerations were men so generally induced, during that age, to throw off the religion of their ancestors.

BUT in proportion as the practice of submitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared, in some respects, dangerous to the rights of sovereigns, and seemed to destroy that implicit obedience, on which the authority of the civil magistrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent, of shaking so ancient and deep founded an establishment as that

C H A P. of the Romish hierarchy, might, it was apprehended, prepare the way for other innovations. XXXI.
1534. The republican spirit, which naturally took place among the reformers, increased this jealousy. The furious insurrections of the populace, excited by Muncer and other anabaptists in Germany¹, furnished a new pretence for decrying the reformation. Nor ought we to conclude, because protestants in our time prove as dutiful subjects as those of any other communion, that therefore such apprehensions were altogether without any shadow of plausibility. Though the liberty of private judgment be tendered to the disciples of the reformation, it is not in reality accepted of; and men are generally contented to acquiesce implicitly in those establishments, however new, into which their early education has thrown them.

No prince in Europe was possessed of such absolute authority as Henry, not even the pope himself, in his own capital, where he united both the civil and ecclesiastical powers²; and there was small likelihood, that any doctrine, which lay under the imputation of encouraging sedition, could ever pretend to his favor and
Of the king. countenance. But besides this political jealousy, there was another reason, which inspired this imperious monarch with an aversion to the reformers. He had early declared his sentiments against Luther; and having entered the lists in those scholastic quarrels, he had received, from

¹ Sleidan, lib. 4. & 5. ² See note [F] at the end of the volume.

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his courtiers and theologians, infinite applause for his performance. Elated by this imaginary success, and blinded by a natural arrogance and obstinacy of temper, he had entertained the most lofty opinion of his own erudition; and he received with impatience, mixed with contempt, any contradiction to his sentiments. Luther also had been so imprudent, as to treat in a very indecent manner his royal antagonist; and though he afterwards made the most humble submissions to Henry, and apologized for the vehemence of his former expressions, he never could efface the hatred, which the king had conceived against him and his doctrines. The idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formidable to that prince; and whilst his resentment against the see of Rome had corrected one considerable part of his early prejudices, he had made it a point of honor never to relinquish the remainder. Separate as he stood from the catholic church and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding, by fire and sword, the imagined purity of his speculative principles.

HENRY'S ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and seemed to waver, during this whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as well as inclination, favored the cause of the reformers: Cromwel, who was created secretary of state, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the

C H A P. same views; and as he was a man of prudence
 XXXI. and abilities, he was able, very effectually,
 1534. though in a covert manner, to promote the late
 innovations: Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury,
 had secretly adopted the protestant tenets; and he
 had gained Henry's friendship by his candor
 and sincerity; virtues which he possessed in as
 eminent a degree as those times, equally distract-
 ed with faction, and oppressed by tyranny, could
 easily permit. On the other hand, the duke of
 Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his
 high rank, as well as by his talents, both for
 peace and war, he had great authority in the
 king's council: Gardiner, lately created bishop
 of Winchester, had enlisted himself in the same
 party; and the suppleness of his character, and
 dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him
 extremely useful to it.

ALL these ministers, while they stood in the
 most irreconcilable opposition of principles to
 each other, were obliged to disguise their parti-
 cular opinions, and to pretend an entire agree-
 ment with the sentiments of their master. Crom-
 wel and Cranmer still carried the appearance of
 a conformity to the ancient speculative tenets;
 but they artfully made use of Henry's resentment
 to widen the breach with the see of Rome.
 Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an assent to the
 king's supremacy, and to his renunciation of the
 sovereign pontiff; but they encouraged his passion
 for the catholic faith, and instigated him to punish
 those daring heretics, who had presumed to reject

his theological principles. Both sides hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to bring him over to their party: The king meanwhile, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled, by the courtship payed him both by protestants and catholics, to assume an unbounded authority: And though in all his measures he was really driven by his ungoverned humor, he casually steered a course, which led more certainly to arbitrary power, than any which the most profound politics could have traced out to him. Artifice, refinement, and hypocrisy, in his situation, would have put both parties on their guard against him, and would have taught them reserve in complying with a monarch, whom they could never hope thoroughly to have gained: But while the frankness, sincerity, and openness of Henry's temper were generally known, as well as the dominion of his furious passions; each side dreaded to lose him by the smallest opposition, and flattered themselves that a blind compliance with his will would throw him, cordially and fully, into their interests.

THE ambiguity of the king's conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served in the main, to encourage the protestant doctrine among his subjects, and promoted that spirit of innovation, with which the age was generally seized, and which nothing but an entire uniformity, as well as a steady severity in the administration, could be able to repress. There were some Englishmen, Tindal, Joye, Constantine, and others, who,

C H A P. dreading the exertion of the king's authority,
 XXXI. had fled to Antwerp³; where the great privi-
 1534: leges possessed by the Low Country provinces,
 Farther pro- served, during some time, to give them pro-
 gress of the tection. These men employed themselves in
 reformation- writing English books, against the corruptions
 of the church of Rome; against images, relics,
 pilgrimages; and they excited the curiosity of
 men with regard to that question, the most im-
 portant in theology, the terms of acceptance with
 the Supreme Being. In conformity to the Luther-
 ans and other protestants, they asserted, that
 salvation was obtained by faith alone; and that
 the most infallible road to perdition⁴ was a
 reliance on *good works*; by which terms they
 understood, as well the moral duties, as the
 ceremonial and monastic observances. The de-
 fenders of the ancient religion, on the other hand,
 maintained the efficacy of *good works*; but though
 they did not exclude from this appellation the
 social virtues, it was still the superstitions, gainful
 to the church, which they chiefly extolled and
 recommended. The books, composed by these
 fugitives, having stolen over to England, began
 to make converts every where; but it was a
 translation of the scriptures by Tindal, that was

³ Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

⁴ Sacrilegium est et impietas velle placere Deo per opera et non per solam fidem. *Luther adversus regem.* Ita vides quam dives sit homo christianus sive baptizatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere salutem suam quantifcunque peccatis. Nulla enim peccata possunt eum damnare nisi incredulitas. *Id. de captivitate Babylonica.*

esteemed the most dangerous to the established faith. The first edition of this work, composed with little accuracy, was found liable to considerable objections; and Tindal, who was poor, and could not afford to lose a great part of the impression, was longing for an opportunity of correcting his errors, of which he had been made sensible. Tonstal, then bishop of London, soon after of Durham, a man of great moderation, being desirous to discourage, in the gentlest manner, these innovations, gave private orders for buying up all the copies, that could be found at Antwerp; and he burned them publicly in Cheapside. By this measure, he supplied Tindal with money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave great scandal to the people, in thus committing to the flames the word of God^s.

THE disciples of the reformation met with little severity during the ministry of Wolsey, who, though himself a clergyman, bore too small a regard to the ecclesiastical order, to serve as an instrument of their tyranny: It was even an article of impeachment against him^e, that by his connivance he had encouraged the growth of heresy, and that he had protected and acquitted some notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who succeeded Wolsey as Chancellor, is at once an object deserving our compassion, and an instance

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^s Hall, fol. 186. Fox, vol. i. p. 138. Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

^e Articles of impeachment in Herbert. Burnet.

C H A P. of the usual progress of men's sentiments during
 XXXI. that age. This man, whose elegant genius and
 1534. familiar acquaintance with the noble spirit of
 antiquity, had given him very enlarged sentiments,
 and who had in his early years advanced principles,
 which even at present would be deemed somewhat
 too free, had, in the course of events, been so
 irritated by polemics, and thrown into such a
 superstitious attachment to the ancient faith, that
 few inquisitors have been guilty of greater violence
 in their prosecution of heresy. Though adorned
 with the gentlest manners, as well as the purest
 integrity, he carried to the utmost height his aver-
 sion to heterodoxy; and James Bainham, in par-
 ticular, a gentleman of the Temple, experienced
 from him the greatest severity. Bainham, accused
 of favoring the new opinions, was carried to
 More's house; and having refused to discover his
 accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be
 whipped in his presence, and afterwards sent him
 to the Tower, where he himself saw him put to the
 torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by
 all these severities, abjured his opinions; but
 feeling afterwards the deepest compunction for his
 apostacy, he openly returned to his former tenets,
 and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He
 was condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic,
 and was burned in Smithfield⁷.

MANY were brought into the bishops' courts
 for offences, which appear trivial, but which were

⁷ Fox. Burnet, vol. i. p. 165.

regarded as symbols of the party: Some for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English; others for reading the new testament in that language, or of speaking against pilgrimages. To harbour the persecuted preachers, to neglect the fasts of the church, to declaim against the vices of the clergy, were capital offences. One Thomas Bilney, a priest, who had embraced the new doctrine, had been terrified into an abjuration; but was so haunted by remorse, that his friends dreaded some fatal effects of his despair. At last, his mind seemed to be more relieved: but this appearing calm proceeded only from the resolution, which he had taken, of expiating his past offence, by an open confession of the truth, and by dying a martyr to it. He went through Norfolk, teaching the people to beware of idolatry, and of trusting for their salvation either to pilgrimages or to the cowl of St. Francis, to the prayers of the saints, or to images. He was soon seized, tried in the bishop's court, and condemned as a relapsed heretic; and the writ was sent down to burn him. When brought to the stake, he discovered such patience, fortitude, and devotion, that the spectators were much affected with the horrors of his punishment; and some mendicant friars, who were present, fearing that his martyrdom would be imputed to them, and make them lose those alms, which they received from the charity of the people, desired him publicly to acquit them of having any hand in his death.

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 164.

CHAPTER. He willingly complied; and by this meekness
 XXXI. gained the more on the sympathy of the people.
 1534. Another person, still more heroic, being brought
 to the stake for denying the real presence, seemed
 almost in a transport of joy; and he tenderly
 embraced the faggots, which were to be the
 instruments of his punishment, as the means of
 procuring him eternal rest. In short, the tide
 turning towards the new doctrine, those severe
 executions, which, in another disposition of
 men's minds, would have sufficed to suppress it,
 now served only to diffuse it the more among
 the people, and to inspire them with horror
 against the unrelenting persecutors.

BUT though Henry neglected not to punish the
 protestant doctrine, which he deemed heresy,
 his most formidable enemies, he knew, were the
 zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly
 the monks, who, having their immediate de-
 pendence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended
 their own ruin to be the certain consequence of
 abolishing his authority in England. Peyto a
 friar, preaching before the king, had the assur-
 ance to tell him, "That many lying prophets
 " had deceived him, but he, as a true Micajah,
 " warned him, that the dogs would lick his
 " blood, as they had done Ahab's⁹." The king
 took no notice of the insult; but allowed the
 preacher to depart in peace. Next Sunday he
 employed Dr. Corren to preach before him; who

⁹ Strype, vol. i. p. 167.

justified the king's proceedings, and gave Peyto the appellations of a rebel, a slanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Elston, another friar of the same house, interrupted the preacher, and told him, that he was one of the lying prophets, who sought to establish by adultery the succession of the crown; but that he himself would justify all that Peyto had said. Henry silenced the petulant friar; but showed no other mark of resentment than ordering Peyto and him to be summoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence¹⁰. He even here bore patiently some new instances of their obstinacy and arrogance: When the earl of Essex, a privy counsellor, told them, that they deserved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames; Elston replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land¹¹.

BUT several monks were detected in a conspiracy, which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the king, was on its discovery attended with more fatal consequences to themselves. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington in Kent, commonly called the *holy Maid of Kent*, had been subject to hysterical fits, which threw her body into unusual convulsions; and having produced an equal disorder in her mind, made her utter strange sayings, which, as she was scarcely conscious of them during the time, had soon after entirely escaped her memory. The silly people in the neighbour-

The maid
of Kent.

¹⁰ Collier, vol. ii. p. 86. Burnet, vol. i. p. 151.

¹¹ Stowe, p. 562.

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hood were struck with these appearances, which they imagined to be supernatural; and Richard Masters, vicar of the parish, a designing fellow, founded on them a project, from which he hoped to acquire both profit and consideration. He went to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, then alive; and having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he so far wrought on that prudent, but superstitious prelate, as to receive orders from him to watch her in her trances, and carefully to note down all her future sayings. The regard, paid her by a person of so high a rank, soon rendered her still more the object of attention to the neighbourhood, and it was easy for Masters to persuade them, as well as the maid herself, that her ravings were inspirations of the Holy Ghost. Knavery, as is usual, soon after succeeding to delusion, she learned to counterfeit trances; and she then uttered, in an extraordinary tone, such speeches as were dictated to her by her spiritual director. Masters associated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and their design was to raise the credit of an image of the virgin, which stood in a chapel belonging to Masters, and to draw to it such pilgrimages as usually frequented the more famous images and relics. In prosecution of this design, Elizabeth pretended revelations, which directed her to have recourse to that image for a cure; and being brought before it, in the presence of a great multitude, she fell a-new into convulsions; and after distorting her limbs and countenance

during a competent time, she affected to have obtained a perfect recovery by the intercession of the virgin ¹². This miracle was soon bruited abroad; and the two priests, finding the imposture to succeed beyond their own expectations, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterprises. They taught their penitent to declaim against the new doctrines, which she denominated heresy; against innovations in ecclesiastical government; and against the king's intended divorce from Catherine. She went so far as to assert, that, if he prosecuted that design, and married another, he should not be a king a month longer, and should not an hour longer enjoy the favor of the Almighty, but should die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout England, either from folly or roguery, or from faction, which is often a complication of both, entered into the delusion; and one Deering, a friar, wrote a book of the revelations and prophecies of Elizabeth ¹³. Miracles were daily added, to increase the wonder; and the pulpit every where resounded with accounts of the sanctity and inspirations of the new prophets. Messages were carried from her to queen Catherine, by which that princess was exhorted to persist in her opposition to the divorce; the pope's ambassadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fisher, bishop of

¹² Stowe, p. 570. Blanquet's Epitome of Chronicles.

¹³ Strype, vol. i. p. 181.

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¹⁴ Collier, vol. ii. p. 87.

¹⁵ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12. Burnet, vol. i. p. 149. Hall, fol. 220.

¹⁶ Goodwin's Annals, p. 53.

dormitory, which was said to have been miraculously opened, in order to give her access to the chapel, for the sake of frequent converse with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Masters for less refined purposes. C H A P. XXXI.

THE detection of this imposture, attended with so many odious circumstances, both hurt the credit of the ecclesiastics, particularly the monks, and instigated the king to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries of the Observantine friars; and finding that little clamor was excited by this act of power, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile, he exercised punishment on individuals, who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treason to endeavour depriving the king of his dignity or titles: They had lately added to his other titles, that of supreme head of the church: It was inferred, that to deny his supremacy was treason; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of guilt. It was certainly a high instance of tyranny to punish the mere delivery of a political opinion, especially one that nowise affected the king's temporal right, as a capital offence, though attended with no overt act; and the parliament, in passing this law, had overlooked all the principles, by which a civilized, much more a free people, should be governed: But the violence of changing so suddenly the whole system of government, and making it treason to deny what, during many ages, it had

1535.

C H A P. been heresy to assert, is an event which may
 XXXI. appear somewhat extraordinary. Even the stern
 1535. unrelenting mind of Henry was, at first, shocked
 with these sanguinary measures; and he went so
 far as to change his garb and dress; pretending
 sorrow for the necessity by which he was pushed
 to such extremities. Still impelled, however, by
 his violent temper, and desirous of striking a
 terror into the whole nation, he proceeded, by
 making examples of Fisher and More, to con-
 summate his lawless tyranny.

Trial and
 execution
 of Fisher,
 bishop of
 Rochester.

JOHN FISHER, bishop of Rochester, was a
 prelate, eminent for learning and morals, still
 more than for his ecclesiastical dignities, and for
 the high favor, which he had long enjoyed with
 the king. When he was thrown into prison, on
 account of his refusing the oath which regarded
 the succession, and his concealment of Elizabeth
 Barton's treasonable speeches, he had not only
 been deprived of all his revenues, but stripped of
 his very clothes, and, without consideration of
 his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but
 rags, which scarcely sufficed to cover his naked-
 ness¹⁷. In this condition, he lay in prison above
 a twelvemonth; when the pope, willing to recom-
 pense the sufferings of so faithful an adherent,
 created him a cardinal; though Fisher was so in-
 different about that dignity, that, even if the
 purple were lying at his feet, he declared that he
 would not stoop to take it. This promotion of

¹⁷ Fuller's Church Hist. book 5. p. 203.

a man, merely for his opposition to royal authority, CHAP.
roused the indignation of the king; and he XXXI.
resolved to make the innocent person feel the 1535.
effects of his resentment. Fisher was indicted for 22d June.
denying the king's supremacy, was tried, con-
demned, and beheaded.

THE execution of this prelate was intended as Of Sir Tho-
a warning to More, whose compliance, on mas More.
account of his great authority both abroad and
at home, and his high reputation for learning and
virtue, was anxiously desired by the king. That
prince also bore as great personal affection and
regard to More, as his imperious mind, the sport
of passions, was susceptible of towards a man,
who in any particular opposed his violent incli-
nations. But More could never be prevailed on
to acknowledge any opinion so contrary to his
principles as that of the king's supremacy; and
though Henry exacted that compliance from the
whole nation, there was, as yet, no law obliging
any one to take an oath to that purpose. Rich,
the solicitor general, was sent to confer with
More, then a prisoner, who kept a cautious
silence with regard to the supremacy: He was
only inveigled to say, that any question with
regard to the law, which established that prero-
gative, was a two-edged sword: If a person
answer one way, it will confound his soul; if
another, it will destroy his body. No more was
wanted to found an indictment of high treason
against the prisoner. His silence was called mali-
cious, and made a part of his crime; and these

C H A P. words, which had casually dropped from him,
 XXXI. were interpreted as a denial of the supremacy¹⁸.
 1535. Trials were mere formalities during this reign:
 The jury gave sentence against More, who had
 long expected this fate, and who needed no pre-
 paration to fortify him against the terrors of
 death. Not only his constancy, but even his
 cheerfulness, nay, his usual facetiousness, never
 forsook him; and he made a sacrifice of his life
 to his integrity with the same indifference that he
 maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When
 he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one,
 "Friend, help me up, and when I come down
 "again, let me shift for myself." The executioner
 asking him forgiveness, he granted the request,
 but told him, "You will never get credit by
 "beheading me, my neck is so short." Then
 laying his head on the block, he bade the execu-
 tioner stay till he put aside his beard: "For,"
 said he, "it never committed treason." Nothing
 was wanting to the glory of this end, except a
 better cause, more free from weakness and super-
 stition. But as the man followed his principles
 and sense of duty, however misguided, his con-
 stancy and integrity are not the less objects of
 our admiration. He was beheaded in the fifty-
 sixth July. third year of his age.

WHEN the execution of Fisher and More was
 reported at Rome, especially that of the former,
 who was invested with the dignity of cardinal,

¹⁸ More's Life of Sir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 393.
 every

every one discovered the most violent rage against the king; and numerous libels were published, by the wits and orators of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the most unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement VII. had died about six months after he pronounced sentence against the king; and Paul III. of the name of Farneſe, had ſucceeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who, while cardinal, had always favored Henry's cauſe, had hoped, that, perſonal animofities being buried with his predecessor, it might not be impoſſible to form an agreement with England: And the king himſelf was ſo deſirous of accommodating matters, that, in a negociation, which he entered into with Francis a little before this time, he required, that that monarch ſhould conciliate a friendſhip between him and the court of Rome. But Henry was accuſtomed to preſcribe, not to receive terms; and even while he was negotiating for peace, his uſual violence often carried him to commit offences, which rendered the quarrel totally incurable. The execution of Fiſher was regarded by Paul, as ſo capital an injury, that he immediately paſſed cenſures againſt the king, citing him and all his adherents to appear in Rome within ninety days, in order to anſwer for their crimes: If they failed, he excommunicated them; deprived the king of his crown; laid the kingdom under an interdict; declared his iſſue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate; diſſolved all leagues which any catholic princes had made with him;

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1535.

30th Aug.

King ex-
communi-
cated.

C H A P. gave his kingdom to any invader; commanded
XXXI. the nobility to take arms against him; freed his
1525. subjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their
 commerce with foreign states; and declared it
 lawful for any one to seize them, to make slaves
 of their persons, and to convert their effects to
 his own use ¹⁹. But though these censures were
 passed, they were not at that time openly de-
 nounced: The pope delayed the publication, till
 he should find an agreement with England en-
 tirely desperate; and till the emperor, who was
 at that time hard pressed by the Turks and the
 protestant princes in Germany, should be in a
 condition to carry the sentence into execution.

THE king knew that he might expect any
 injury, which it should be in Charles's power to
 inflict; and he therefore made it the chief object
 of his policy to incapacitate that monarch from
 wreaking his resentment upon him ²⁰. He renewed
 his friendship with Francis, and opened negocia-
 tions for marrying his infant-daughter, Eliza-
 beth, with the duke of Angouleme, third son of
 Francis. These two monarchs also made advances
 to the princes of the protestant league in Germany,
 ever jealous of the emperor's ambition: And
 Henry, besides remitting them some money,
 sent Fox, bishop of Hereford, as Francis did
 Bellay, lord of Langley, to treat with them.
 But during the first fervors of the reformation,
 an agreement in theological tenets was held, as

¹⁹ Sanders, p. 148.

²⁰ Herbert, p. 350, 351.

well as a union of interests, to be essential to a good correspondence among states; and though both Francis and Henry flattered the German princes with hopes of their embracing the confession of Augsбург, it was looked upon as a bad symptom of their sincerity that they exercised such extreme rigor against all preachers of the reformation in their respective dominions²¹. Henry carried the feint so far, that, while he thought himself the first theologian in the world, he yet invited over Melancthon, Bucer, Sturmius, Draco, and other German divines, that they might confer with him, and instruct him in the foundation of their tenets. These theologians were now of great importance in the world; and no poet or philosopher, even in ancient Greece, where they were treated with most respect, had ever reached equal applause and admiration with those wretched composers of metaphysical polemics. The German princes told the king, that they could not spare their divines, and as Henry had no hopes of agreement with such zealous disputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not associate with the disciples of Zuinglius, because, though they agreed in every thing else, they differed in some minute particulars with regard to the eucharist, he was the more indifferent on account of this refusal. He could also foresee, that, even while the league of Smalkalde did not act in concert

²¹ Sleidan, lib. 10.

C H A P. with him, they would always be carried by their
 XXXI. interests to oppose the emperor: And the hatred
 between Francis and that monarch was so inveterate, that he deemed himself sure of a sincerely in one or other of these potentates.

1536. DURING these negociations an incident happened in England, which promised a more amicable conclusion of those disputes, and seemed even to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was seized with a lingering illness, which at last brought her to her grave: She died at Kimbolton in the county of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before she expired, she wrote a very tender letter to the king; in which she gave him the appellation of *her most dear Lord, King, and Husband*. She told him, that, as the hour of her death was now approaching, she laid hold of this last opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptiness of all human grandeur and enjoyment: That though his fondness towards these perishable advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himself much trouble, she yet forgave him all past injuries, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven: And that she had no other request to make, than to recommend to him his daughter, the sole pledge of their loves; and to crave his protection for her maids and servants. She concluded with these words, *I make this vow,*

6th Jan.
 Death of
 queen Catherine.

that mine eyes desire you above all things ²². The king was touched even to the shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catherine's affection; but queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit ²³.

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THE emperor thought, that, as the demise of his aunt had removed all foundation of personal animosity between him and Henry, it might not now be impossible to detach him from the alliance of France, and to renew his own confederacy with England, from which he had formerly reaped so much advantage. He sent Henry proposals for a return to ancient amity, upon these conditions ²⁴; that he should be reconciled to the see of Rome, that he should assist him in his war with the Turk, and that he should take part with him against Francis, who now threatened the dutchy of Milan. The king replied, that he was willing to be on good terms with the emperor, provided that prince would acknowledge, that the former breach of friendship came entirely from himself: As to the conditions proposed; the proceedings against the bishop of Rome were so just, and so fully ratified by the parliament of England, that they could not now be revoked; when Christian princes should have settled peace among themselves, he would not fail to exert that vigor, which became him, against the enemies

²² Herbert, p. 403.²³ Burnet, vol. i. p. 192.²⁴ Du Bellay, liv. 5. Herbert. Burnet, vol. iii. in Coll. N° 50.

C H A P. of the faith; and after amity with the emperor
XXXI. was once fully restored, he should then be in a
1536. situation, as a common friend both to him and Francis, either to mediate an agreement between them, or to assist the injured party.

WHAT rendered Henry more indifferent to the advances made by the emperor, was, both his experience of the usual duplicity and insincerity of that monarch, and the intelligence which he received of the present transactions in Europe. Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, had died without issue; and the emperor maintained, that the dutchy, being a fief of the empire, was devolved to him, as head of the Germanic body: not to give umbrage, however to the states of Italy, he professed his intention of bestowing that principality on some prince, who should be obnoxious to no party, and he even made offer of it, to the duke of Angouleme, third son of Francis. The French monarch, who pretended that his own right to Milan was now revived upon Sforza's death, was content to substitute his second son, the duke of Orleans, in his place; and the emperor pretended to close with this proposal. But his sole intention in that liberal concession was to gain time, till he should put himself in a warlike posture, and be able to carry an invasion into Francis's dominions. The ancient enmity between these princes broke out anew in bravadoes, and in personal insults on each other, ill-becoming persons of their rank, and still less suitable to men of such unquestioned bravery. Charles soon

after invaded Provence in person, with an army of fifty thousand men; but met with no success. His army perished with sickness, fatigue, famine, and other disasters; and he was obliged to raise the siege of Marseilles, and retire into Italy with the broken remains of his forces. An army of Imperialists, near 30,000 strong, which invaded France on the side of the Netherlands, and laid siege to Peronne, made no greater progress, but retired upon the approach of a French army. And Henry had thus the satisfaction to find, both that his ally, Francis, was likely to support himself without foreign assistance, and that his own tranquillity was fully ensured by these violent wars and animosities on the continent.

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IF any inquietude remained with the English court, it was solely occasioned by the state of affairs in Scotland. James, hearing of the dangerous situation of his ally, Francis, generously levied some forces; and embarking them on board vessels, which he had hired for that purpose, landed them safely in France. He even went over in person; and making haste to join the camp of the French king, which then lay in Provence, to partake of his danger, he met that prince at Lyons, who, having repulsed the emperor, was now returning to his capital. Recommended by so agreeable and seasonable an instance of friendship, the king of Scots paid his addresses to Magdalen, daughter of the French monarch; and this prince had no other objection to the match, than what arose from the infirm

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state of his daughter's health, which seemed to threaten her with an approaching end. But James having gained the affections of the princess, and obtained her consent, the father would no longer oppose the united desires of his daughter and his friend: They were accordingly married, and soon after set sail for Scotland, where the young queen, as was foreseen, died in a little time after her arrival. Francis, however, was afraid, lest his ally, Henry, whom he likewise looked on as his friend, and who lived with him on a more cordial footing than is usual among great princes, should be displeased, that this close confederacy between France and Scotland was concluded without his participation. He therefore dispatched Pommeraye to London, in order to apologize for this measure; but Henry, with his usual openness and freedom, expressed such displeasure, that he refused even to confer with the ambassador; and Francis was apprehensive of a rupture with a prince, who regulated his measures more by humor and passion than by the rules of political prudence. But the king was so fettered by the opposition, in which he was engaged against the pope and the emperor, that he pursued no farther this disgust against Francis; and in the end every thing remained in tranquillity both on the side of France and of Scotland.

THE domestic peace of England seemed to be exposed to more hazard, by the violent innovations in religion; and it may be affirmed, that, in this dangerous conjuncture, nothing ensured

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public tranquillity so much as the decisive authority acquired by the king, and his great ascendant over all his subjects. Not only the devotion paid to the crown, was profound during that age: The personal respect, inspired by Henry, was considerable; and even the terrors, with which he over-awed every one, were not attended with any considerable degree of hatred. His frankness, his sincerity, his magnificence, his generosity, were virtues which counterbalanced his violence, cruelty, and impetuosity. And the important, rank, which his vigor, more than his address, acquired him in all foreign negotiations, flattered the vanity of Englishmen, and made them the more willingly endure those domestic hardships, to which they were exposed. The king, conscious of his advantages, was now proceeding to the most dangerous exercise of his authority; and after paving the way for that measure by several preparatory expedients, he was at last determined to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues.

THE great increase of monasteries, if matters be considered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience, of the catholic religion; and every other disadvantage, attending that communion, seems to have an inseparable connexion with these religious institutions. Papal usurpations, the tyranny of the inquisition, the multiplicity of holidays; all these fetters on liberty and industry were ultimately derived from the authority and insinuation of monks, whose

C H A P. habitations, being established every where, proved
XXXI. so many seminaries of superstition and of folly.
1536. This order of men was extremely enraged against
Henry; and regarded the abolition of the papal
authority in England, as the removal of the sole
protection, which they enjoyed, against the rapa-
city of the crown and of the courtiers. They
were now subjected to the king's visitation; the
supposed sacredness of their bulls from Rome
was rejected; the progress of the reformation
abroad, which had every where been attended
with the abolition of the monastic orders, gave
them reason to apprehend like consequences in
England; and though the king still maintained
the doctrine of purgatory, to which most of the
convents owed their origin and support, it was
foreseen, that, in the progress of the contest, he
would every day be led to depart wider from
ancient institutions, and be drawn nearer the
tenets of the reformers, with whom his political
interests naturally induced him to unite. Moved
by these considerations, the friars employed all
their influence to inflame the people against the
king's government; and Henry, finding their
safety irreconcilable with his own, was determin-
ed to seize the present opportunity, and utterly
destroy his declared enemies.

CROMWEL, secretary of state, had been ap-
pointed vicar-general, or vicegerent, a new office,
by which the king's supremacy, or the absolute,
uncontroulable power, assumed over the church,
was delegated to him. He employed Layton,

London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellasis, and others, as commissioners, who carried on, every where, a rigorous inquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of all the friars. During times of faction, especially of the religious kind, no equity is to be expected from adversaries; and as it was known, that the king's intention in this visitation was to find a pretence for abolishing monasteries, we may naturally conclude, that the reports of the commissioners are very little to be relied on. Friars were encouraged to bring in informations against their brethren; the slightest evidence was credited; and even the calumnies, spread abroad by the friends of the reformation, were regarded as grounds of proof. Monstrous disorders are therefore said to have been found in many of the religious houses: Whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness: Signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural lusts between persons of the same sex. It is indeed probable, that the blind submission of the people, during those ages, would render the friars and nuns more unguarded, and more dissolute, than they are in any Roman Catholic country at present: But still, the reproaches, which it is safest to credit, are such as point at vices, naturally connected with the very institution of convents, and with the monastic life. The cruel and inveterate factions and quarrels, therefore, which the commissioners mentioned, are very credible among men, who, being confined together within the same walls,

C H A P. never can forget their mutual animosities, and
 XXXI. who, being cut off from all the most endearing
 1536. connexions of nature, are commonly cursed with
 hearts more selfish, and tempers more unrelenting,
 than fall to the share of other men. The pious
 frauds, practised to increase the devotion and
 liberality of the people, may be regarded as cer-
 tain, in an order founded on illusions, lies, and
 superstition. The supine idleness also and its
 attendant, profound ignorance, with which the
 convents were reproached, admit of no question;
 and though monks were the true preservers, as
 well as inventors, of the dreaming and captious
 philosophy of the schools, no manly or elegant
 knowledge could be expected among men, whose
 lives, condemned to a tedious uniformity, and
 deprived of all emulation, afforded nothing to
 raise the mind, or cultivate the genius.

SOME few monasteries, terrified with this
 rigorous inquisition carried on by Cromwel and
 his commissioners, surrendered their revenues
 into the king's hands; and the monks received
 small pensions as the reward of their obsequi-
 ousness. Orders were given to dismiss such nuns
 and friars as were below four and twenty, whose
 vows were, on that account, supposed not to
 be binding. The doors of the convents were
 opened, even to such as were above that age;
 and every one recovered his liberty who desired
 it. But as all these expedients did not fully
 answer the king's purpose, he had recourse to
 his usual instrument of power, the parliament;

and in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the visitors was published, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation against institutions, which, to their ancestors, had been the objects of the most profound veneration. C H A P.
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1536.

THE king, though determined utterly to abolish the monastic order, resolved to proceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions to the parliament to go no further at present, than to suppress the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues below two hundred pounds a year²⁵. These were found to be the most corrupted, as lying less under the restraint of shame, and being exposed to less scrutiny²⁶; and it was deemed safest to begin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations projected. By this act three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more²⁷. It does not appear, that any opposition was made to this important law: So absolute was Henry's authority! A court, called 4th Feb.
A parlia-
ment.

Suppression
of the lesser
monasteries.

²⁵ 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28. ²⁶ Burnet, vol. i. p. 193.

²⁷ It is pretended, see Hollingshed, p. 939, that ten thousand monks were turned out on the dissolution of the lesser monasteries. If so, most of them must have been Mendicants: For the revenue could not have supported near that number. The Mendicants, no doubt, still continued their former profession.

C H A P. the court of augmentation of the king's revenue,
 XXXI. was erected for the management of these funds.
 1536. The people naturally concluded, from this circumstance, that Henry intended to proceed in despoiling the church of her patrimony ²⁸.

THE act formerly passed, empowering the king to name thirty-two commissioners for framing a body of canon-law, was renewed; but the project was never carried into execution. Henry thought, that the present perplexity of that law increased his authority, and kept the clergy in still greater dependence.

FARTHER progress was made in completing the union of Wales with England: The separate jurisdictions of several great lords or marchers, as they were called, which obstructed the course of justice in Wales, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, were abolished; and the authority of the king's courts was extended every where. Some jurisdictions of a like nature in England were also abolished ²⁹ this session.

THE commons, sensible that they had gained nothing by opposing the king's will, when he formerly endeavoured to secure the profits of wardships and liveries, were now contented to frame a law ³⁰, such as he dictated to them. It was enacted, that the possession of land shall be adjudged to be in those who have the use of it, not in those to whom it is transferred in trust.

²⁸ 27 Hen. VIII. c. 27.

²⁹ 27 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

³⁰ 27 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

AFTER all these laws were passed, the king dissolved the parliament; a parliament memorable, not only for the great and important innovations which it introduced, but also for the long time it had sitten, and the frequent prorogations which it had undergone. Henry had found it so obsequious to his will, that he did not chuse, during those religious ferments, to hazard a new election; and he continued the same parliament above six years: A practice, at that time, unusual in England.

C H A P.

XXXI.

1536.

14th April.

THE convocation, which sat during this session, was engaged in a very important work, the deliberating on the new translation which was projected of the scriptures. The translation given by Tindal, though corrected by himself in a new edition, was still complained of by the clergy, as inaccurate and unfaithful; and it was now proposed to them, that they should themselves publish a translation, which would not be liable to those objections.

A convoca-
tion.

THE friends of the reformation asserted, that nothing could be more absurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue, the word of God itself, and thus to counteract the will of heaven, which, for the purpose of universal salvation, had published that salutary doctrine to all nations: That if this practice were not very absurd, the artifice at least was very gross, and proved a consciousness, that the glosses and traditions of the clergy stood in direct opposition to the original text, dictated by Supreme Intelligence:

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That it was now necessary for the people, so long abused by interested pretensions, to see with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the ecclesiastics were founded on that charter, which was on all hands acknowledged to be derived from heaven: And that, as a spirit of research and curiosity was happily revived, and men were now obliged to make a choice among the contending doctrines of different sects, the proper materials for decision, and above all, the holy scriptures, should be set before them; and the revealed will of God, which the change of language had somewhat obscured, be again, by their means, revealed to mankind.

THE favorers of the ancient religion maintained, on the other hand, that the pretence of making the people see with their own eyes, was a mere cheat, and was itself a very gross artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the guidance of them, and to seduce them from those pastors, whom the laws, whom ancient establishments, whom heaven itself had appointed for their spiritual direction: That the people were, by their ignorance, their stupidity, their necessary avocations, totally unqualified to chuse their own principles; and it was a mockery to set materials before them, of which they could not possibly make any proper use: That even in the affairs of common life, and in their temporal concerns, which lay more within the compass of human reason, the laws had, in a great measure, deprived them of the right of private judgment, and
had,

had, happily for their own and the public interest, regulated their conduct and behaviour: That theological questions were placed far beyond the sphere of vulgar comprehensions; and ecclesiastics themselves, though assisted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an assiduous study of the science, could not be fully assured of a just decision; except by the promise made them in scripture, that God would be ever present with his church, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against her: That the gross errors, adopted by the wisest heathens, proved how unfit men were to grope their own way, through this profound darkness; nor would the scriptures, if trusted to every man's judgment, be able to remedy; on the contrary, they would much augment, those fatal illusions: That sacred writ itself was involved in so much obscurity, gave rise to so many difficulties, contained so many appearing contradictions, that it was the most dangerous weapon, that could be intrusted into the hands of the ignorant and giddy multitude: That the poetical style, in which a great part of it was composed, at the same time that it occasioned uncertainty in the sense, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was sufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticism, and thereby throw civil society into the most furious combustion: That a thousand sects must arise, which would pretend, each of them, to derive its tenets from the scripture; and would be able, by specious arguments, or even without specious

C H A P.

XXXI.

1536.

C H A P. arguments, to seduce silly women and ignorant
 XXXI. mechanics, into a belief of the most monstrous
 1536. principles: And that if ever this disorder, dangerous to the magistrate himself, received a remedy, it must be from the tacit acquiescence of the people in some new authority; and it was evidently better, without farther contest or inquiry, to adhere peaceably to ancient, and therefore the more secure, establishments.

THESE latter arguments, being more agreeable to ecclesiastical governments, would probably have prevailed in the convocation, had it not been for the authority of Cranmer, Latimer, and some other bishops, who were supposed to speak the king's sense of the matter. A vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the scriptures; and in three years' time the work was finished, and printed at Paris. This was deemed a great point gained by the reformers, and a considerable advancement of their cause. Farther progress was soon expected, after such important successes.

BUT while the retainers to the new religion were exulting in their prosperity, they met with a mortification, which seemed to blast all their hopes: Their patroness, Anne Boleyn, possessed no longer the king's favor; and soon after lost her life, by the rage of that furious monarch. Henry had persevered in his love to this lady, during six years that his prosecution of the divorce lasted; and the more obstacles he met with to the gratification of his passion, the more determined

Disgrace of
 queen Anne.

C H A P.

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zeal did he exert in pursuing his purpose. But the affection, which had subsisted, and still increased, under difficulties, had not long attained secure possession of its object, when it languished from satiety; and the king's heart was apparently estranged from his consort. Anne's enemies soon perceived the fatal change: and they were forward to widen the breach, when they found that they incurred no danger by interposing in those delicate concerns. She had been delivered of a dead son; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus, for the present, disappointed, his temper, equally violent and superstitious, was disposed to make the innocent mother answerable for the misfortune^{3°}. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the king against her, was his jealousy.

ANNE, though she appears to have been entirely innocent, and even virtuous, in her conduct, had a certain gaiety, if not levity, of character, which threw her off her guard, and made her less circumspect than her situation required. Her education in France rendered her the more prone to those freedoms; and it was with difficulty she conformed herself to that strict ceremonial, practised in the court of England. More vain than haughty, she was pleased to see the influence of her beauty on all around her, and she indulged herself in an easy familiarity with persons, who were formerly her equals,

^{3°} Burnet, vol. i. p. 196.

C H A P. and who might then have pretended to her
XXXI. friendship and good graces. Henry's dignity was
1536. offended with these popular manners; and though
the lover had been entirely blind, the husband
possessed but too quick discernment and penetra-
tion. Ill instruments interposed, and put a ma-
lignant interpretation on the harmless liberties of
the queen: The viscountess of Rocheford, in
particular, who was married to the queen's bro-
ther, but who lived on bad terms with her sister-
in-law, insinuated the most cruel suspicions into
the king's mind; and as she was a woman of a
profligate character, she paid no regard either to
truth or humanity in those calumnies which she
suggested. She pretended, that her own husband
was engaged in a criminal correspondence with
his sister; and not content with this imputation,
she poisoned every action of the queen's, and
represented each instance of favor, which she
conferred on any one, as a token of affection.
Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston and
Brereton, gentlemen of the king's chamber, to-
gether with Mark Smeton, groom of the chamber,
were observed to possess much of the queen's
friendship; and they served her with a zeal and
attachment, which, though chiefly derived from
gratitude, might not improbably be seasoned
with some mixture of tenderness for so amiable
a princess. The king's jealousy laid hold of the
slightest circumstance; and finding no particular
object on which it could fasten, it vented itself

equally on every one that came within the verge of its fury. C H A P.

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HAD Henry's jealousy been derived from love, though it might on a sudden have proceeded to the most violent extremities, it would have been subject to many remorse and contrarieties; and might at last have served only to augment that affection, on which it was founded. But it was more a stern jealousy, fostered entirely by pride: His love was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and maid of honor to the queen, a young lady of singular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire ascendant over him; and he was determined to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to most monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, and who deem the young damsels of their court rather honored than disgraced by their passion, he seldom thought of any other attachment than that of marriage; and in order to attain this end, he underwent more difficulties, and committed greater crimes, than those which he sought to avoid, by forming that legal connexion. And having thus entertained the design of raising his new mistress to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every suggestion, which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

THE king's jealousy first appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident probably casual, but interpreted by him as an instance of gal-

1st May.

C H A P. lantry to some of her paramours ³¹. He immediately retired from the place; sent orders to confine her to her chamber; arrested Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeton, together with her brother, Rocheford; and threw them into prison. The queen, astonished at these instances of his fury, thought that he meant only to try her; but finding him in earnest, she reflected on his obstinate unrelenting spirit, and she prepared herself for that melancholy doom, which was awaiting her. Next day, she was sent to the Tower; and on her way thither, she was informed of her supposed offences, of which she had hitherto been ignorant: She made earnest protestations of her innocence; and when she entered the prison, she fell on her knees, and prayed God so to help her, as she was not guilty of the crime imputed to her. Her surprise and confusion threw her into hysterical disorders; and in that situation, she thought that the best proof of her innocence was to make an entire confession, and she revealed some indiscretions and levities, which her simplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to avow. She owned, that she had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him, that he probably expected her, when she should be a widow: She had reproved Weston, she said, for his affection to a kinswoman of hers, and his indifference towards his wife: But he told her, that she had mistaken the object of his

³¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 198.

affection, for it was herself: Upon which, she defied him³². She affirmed, that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice, when he played on the harpsichord: But she acknowledged, that he had once had the boldness to tell her, that a look sufficed him. The king, instead of being satisfied with the candor and sincerity of her confession, regarded these indiscretions only as preludes to greater and more criminal intimacies.

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OF all those multitudes, whom the beneficence of the queen's temper had obliged, during her prosperous fortune, no one durst interpose between her and the king's fury; and the person, whose advancement every breath had favored, and every countenance had smiled upon, was now left neglected and abandoned. Even her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, preferring the connexions of party to the ties of blood, was become her most dangerous enemy; and all the retainers to the catholic religion hoped, that her death would terminate the king's quarrel with Rome, and leave him again to his natural and early bent, which had inclined him to maintain the most intimate union with the apostolic see. Cranmer alone, of all the queen's adherents, still retained his friendship for her; and, as far as the king's impetuosity permitted him, he endeavoured to moderate the violent prejudices, entertained against her.

THE queen herself wrote Henry a letter from

³² Strype, vol. i. p. 281.

C H A P. the Tower, full of the most tender expostulations,
 XXXI. and of the warmest protestations of innocence ³³.
 1536. This letter had no influence on the unrelenting
 mind of Henry, who was determined to pave the
 way for his new marriage by the death of Anne
 Boleyn. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton,
 were tried; but no legal evidence was produced
 against them. The chief proof of their guilt con-
 sisted in a hear-say from one lady Wingfield, who
 was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by the
 vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspond-
 ence with the queen ³⁴; but even her enemies ex-
 pected little advantage from this confession: For
 they never dared to confront him with her; and
 he was immediately executed; as were also Bre-
 reton and Weston. Norris had been much in the
 king's favor; and an offer of life was made him,
 if he would confess his crime, and accuse the
 queen: But he generously rejected the proposal:
 and said, that in his conscience he believed her
 entirely guiltless: But, for his part, he could
 accuse her of nothing, and he would rather die
 a thousand deaths than calumniate an innocent
 person.

Her trial,

THE queen and her brother were tried by a
 jury of peers, consisting of the duke of Suffolk,
 the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and
 twenty-three more: Their uncle, the duke of
 Norfolk, presided as high steward. Upon what

³³ See note [G] at the end of the volume.

³⁴ Burnet, vol. i. p. 202.

proof or pretence the crime of incest was imputed to them is unknown : The chief evidence, it is said, amounted to no more than that Rocheford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. Part of the charge against her was, that she had affirmed to her minions, that the king never had her heart ; and had said to each of them apart, that she loved him better than any person whatsoever : *Which was to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her.* By this strained interpretation, her guilt was brought under the statute of the 25th of this reign ; in which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. Such palpable absurdities were, at that time, admitted ; and they were regarded by the peers of England as a sufficient reason for sacrificing an innocent queen to the cruelty of their tyrant. Though unassisted by counsel, she defended herself with presence of mind ; and the spectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given by the court, both against the queen and lord Rocheford ; and her verdict contained, that she should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When this dreadful sentence was pronounced, she was not terrified, but lifting up her hands to heaven, said, " O, Father ! O, Creator ! thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate. " And then turning to the judges, made the most pathetic declarations of her innocence.

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C H A P. HENRY, not satisfied with this cruel vengeance,
 XXXI. was resolved entirely to annul his marriage with
 1536. Anne Boleyn, and to declare her issue illegitimate:
 He recalled to his memory, that, a little after
 her appearance in the English court, some attach-
 ment had been acknowledged between her and
 the earl of Northumberland, then lord Piercy;
 and he now questioned that nobleman with regard
 to these engagements. Northumberland took an
 oath before the two archbishops, that no contract
 or promise of marriage had ever passed between
 them: He received the sacrament upon it, before
 the duke of Norfolk and others of the privy
 council; and this solemn act he accompanied with
 the most solemn protestations of veracity³⁵. The
 queen, however, was shaken by menaces of
 executing the sentence against her in its greatest
 rigor, and was prevailed on to confess in court,
 some lawful impediments to her marriage with
 the king³⁶. The afflicted primate, who sat as
 judge, thought himself obliged by this confession,
 to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. Henry,
 in the transports of his fury, did not perceive that
 his proceedings were totally inconsistent, and
 that, if her marriage were, from the beginning,
 invalid, she could not possibly be guilty of adultery.

and execu-
 tion.

THE queen now prepared for suffering the death
 to which she was sentenced. She sent her last
 message to the king, and acknowledged the ob-
 ligations which she owed him, in thus uniformly

³⁵ Herbert, p. 384.

³⁶ Heylin, p. 94.

continuing his endeavours for her advancement: From a private gentlewoman, she said, he had first made her a marchioness, then a queen, and now, since he could raise her no higher in this world, he was sending her to be a saint in heaven. She then renewed the protestations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, she made the like declarations; and continued to behave herself with her usual serenity, and even with cheerfulness. “The executioner,” she said to the lieutenant, “is, I hear, very expert; and my neck is very slender:” Upon which she grasped it in her hand, and smiled. When brought, however, to the scaffold, she softened her tone a little with regard to her protestations of innocence. She probably reflected, that the obstinacy of queen Catherine, and her opposition to the king’s will, had much alienated him from the lady Mary: Her own maternal concern, therefore, for Elizabeth, prevailed in these last moments over that indignation, which the unjust sentence, by which she suffered, naturally excited in her. She said, that she was come to die, as she was sentenced, by the law: She would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the king; called him a most merciful and gentle prince; and acknowledged, that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign; and if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she desired

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C H A P. him to judge the best ³⁷. She was beheaded by
 XXXI. the executioner of Calais, who was sent for as
 1536. more expert than any in England. Her body
 was negligently thrown into a common chest of
 elm-tree, made to hold arrows; and was buried
 in the Tower.

THE innocence of this unfortunate queen cannot reasonably be called in question. Henry himself, in the violence of his rage, knew not whom to accuse as her lover; and though he imputed guilt to her brother, and four persons more, he was able to bring proof against none of them. The whole tenor of her conduct forbids us to ascribe to her an abandoned character, such as is implied in the king's accusation: Had she been so lost to all prudence and sense of shame, she must have exposed herself to detection, and afforded her enemies some evidence against her. But the king made the most effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution ³⁸. His impatience to gratify this new passion caused him to forget all regard to decency; and his cruel heart was not softened a moment by the bloody catastrophe of a person, who had so long been the object of his most tender affections.

THE lady Mary thought the death of her step-mother a proper opportunity for reconciling herself to the king, who, besides other causes of disgust, had been offended with her, on account of the

³⁷ Burnet, vol. i. p. 205. ³⁸ Ibidem, p. 297.

part which she had taken in her mother's quarrel. Her advances were not at first received; and Henry exacted from her some farther proofs of submission and obedience: He required this young princess, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological tenets; to acknowledge his supremacy; to renounce the pope; and to own her mother's marriage to be unlawful and incestuous. These points were of hard digestion with the princess; but after some delays, and even refusals, she was at last prevailed on to write a letter to her father³⁹, containing her assent to the articles required of her: Upon which she was received into favor. But notwithstanding the return of the king's affection to the issue of his first marriage, he divested not himself of kindness towards the lady Elizabeth; and the new queen, who was blest with a singular sweetness of disposition, discovered strong proofs of attachment towards her.

THE trial and conviction of queen Anne, and the subsequent events, made it necessary for the king to summon a new parliament; and he here, in his speech, made a merit to his people, that, notwithstanding the misfortunes attending his two former marriages, he had been induced, for their good, to venture on a third. The speaker received this profession with suitable gratitude; and he took thence occasion to praise the king for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature: He

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A parliament.

³⁹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 207. Strype, vol. i. p. 285.

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compared him, for justice and prudence, to Solomon; for strength and fortitude to Sampson; and for beauty and comeliness to Absalom. The king very humbly replied, by the mouth of the chancellor, that he disavowed these praises; since, if he were really possessed of such endowments, they were the gift of Almighty God only. Henry found that the parliament was no less submissive in deeds than complaisant in their expressions, and that they would go the same lengths as the former in gratifying even his most lawless passions. His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified⁴⁰; that queen, and all her accomplices, were attainted; the issue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate, and it was even made treason to assert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any slander upon the present king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the same penalty; the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife; and in case he should die without children, he was empowered, by his will or letters patent, to dispose of the crown: An enormous authority, especially when intrusted to a prince so violent and capricious in his humor. Whoever, being required, refused to answer upon oath to any

⁴⁰ The parliament, in annulling the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, gives this as a reason. "For that his highness had chosen to wife the excellent and virtuous lady Jane, who for her convenient years, excellent beauty, and pureness of flesh and blood, would be apt, God willing, to conceive issue by his highness."

article of this act of settlement, was declared to be guilty of treason; and by this clause a species of political inquisition was established in the kingdom, as well as the accusations of treason multiplied to an unreasonable degree. The king was also empowered to confer on any one, by his will or letters patent, any castles, honors, liberties, or franchises; words which might have been extended to the dismembering of the kingdom, by the erection of principalities and independent jurisdictions. It was also, by another act, made treason to marry, without the king's consent, any princess related in the first degree to the crown. This act was occasioned by the discovery of a design, formed by Thomas Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk, to espouse the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the king, by his sister the queen of Scots and the earl of Angus. Howard, as well as the young lady, was committed to the Tower. She recovered her liberty soon after; but he died in confinement. An act of attainder passed against him this session of parliament.

ANOTHER accession was likewise gained to the authority of the crown: The king or any of his successors was empowered to repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever act of parliament had been passed before he was four and twenty years of age. Whoever maintained the authority of the bishop of Rome, by word or writ, or endeavoured in any manner to restore it in England, was subjected to the penalty of a premunire; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put

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C H A P. out of the protection of law. And any person
 XXXI. who possessed any office, ecclesiastical or civil,
 1536. or received any grant or charter from the crown,
 and yet refused to renounce the pope by oath,
 was declared to be guilty of treason. The re-
 nunciation prescribed runs in the style of *So help*
*me God, all saints, and the holy evangelists*⁴¹. The
 pope, hearing of Anne Boleyn's disgrace and
 death, had hoped that the door was opened to
 a reconciliation, and had been making some ad-
 vances to Henry: But this was the reception he
 met with. Henry was now become indifferent
 with regard to papal censures; and finding a great
 increase of authority, as well as of revenue, to
 accrue from his quarrel with Rome, he was de-
 termined to persevere in his present measures.
 This parliament also, even more than any fore-
 going, convinced him how much he commanded
 the respect of his subjects, and what confidence
 he might repose in them. Though the elections
 had been made on a sudden, without any prepa-
 ration or intrigue, the members discovered an unli-
 mited attachment to his person and government⁴².

A convo-
 cation.

THE extreme complaisance of the convocation,
 which sat at the same time with the parliament,
 encouraged him in his resolution of breaking
 entirely with the court of Rome. There was
 secretly a great division of sentiments in the
 minds of this assembly; and as the zeal of the
 reformers had been augmented by some late

⁴¹ 28 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

⁴² Burnet, vol. i. p. 212.
 successes,

successes, the resentment of the catholics was no less excited by their fears and losses: But the authority of the king kept every one submissive and silent; and the new-assumed prerogative, the supremacy, with whose limits no one was fully acquainted, restrained even the most furious movements of theological rancor. Cromwel presided as vicar-general; and though the catholic party expected, that, on the fall of queen Anne, his authority would receive a great shock, they were surprised to find him still maintain the same credit as before. With the vicar-general concurred Cranmer the primate, Latimer bishop of Worcester, Shaxton of Salisbury, Hilsey of Rochester, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's. The opposite faction was headed by Lee archbishop of York, Stokesley bishop of London, Tonstal of Durham, Gardiner of Winchester, Longland of Lincoln, Sherbone of Chichester, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlisle. The former party, by their opposition to the pope, seconded the king's ambition and love of power: The latter party, by maintaining the ancient theological tenets, were more conformable to his speculative principles: And both of them had alternately the advantage of gaining on his humor, by which he was more governed than by either of these motives.

THE church in general was averse to the reformation; and the lower house of convocation framed a list of opinions, in the whole sixty-seven, which they pronounced erroneous, and

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which was a collection of principles, some held by the ancient Lollards, others by the modern protestants, or Gospellers, as they were sometimes called. These opinions they sent to the upper house to be censured; but in the preamble of their representation, they discovered the servile spirit, by which they were governed. They said, “that they intended not to do or speak any thing which might be unpleasant to the king, whom they acknowledge their supreme head, and whose commands they were resolved to obey; renouncing the pope’s usurped authority, with all his laws and inventions, now extinguished and abolished; and addicting themselves to Almighty God and his laws, and unto the king and the laws made within this kingdom⁴³.”

THE convocation came at last, after some debate, to decide articles of faith; and their tenets were of as motley a kind as the assembly itself, or rather as the king’s system of theology, by which they were resolved entirely to square their principles. They determined the standard of faith to consist in the Scriptures and the three creeds, the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian; and this article was a signal victory to the reformers: Auricular confession and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the catholics: No mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as sacraments; and in this omission the influence of the protestants

⁴³ Collier, vol. ii. p. 119.

appeared: The real presence was asserted, conformably to the ancient doctrine: The terms of acceptance were established to be the merits of Christ, and the mercy and good pleasure of God, suitably to the new principles.

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So far the two sects seem to have made a fair partition, by alternately sharing the several clauses. In framing the subsequent articles, each of them seems to have thrown in its ingredient. The catholics prevailed in asserting, that the use of images was warranted by Scripture; the protestants, in warning the people against idolatry, and the abuse of these sensible representations. The ancient faith was adopted in maintaining the expedience of praying to saints; the late innovations in rejecting the peculiar patronage of saints to any trade, profession, or course of action. The former rites of worship, the use of holy water, and the ceremonies practised on Ash-wednesday, Palm-sunday, Good friday, and other festivals, were still maintained; but the new refinements, which made light of these institutions, were also adopted, by the convocation's denying that they had any immediate power of remitting sin, and by its asserting that their sole merit consisted in promoting pious and devout dispositions in the mind.

BUT the article, with regard to purgatory, contains the most curious jargon, ambiguity, and hesitation, arising from the mixture of opposite tenets. It was to this purpose: "Since according to due order of charity, and the book of Maccabees, and divers ancient authors, it

H A P. " is a very good and charitable deed to pray for
 XXXI. " souls departed; and since such a practice has
 1536. " been maintained in the church from the begin-
 " ning; all bishops and teachers should instruct the
 " people not to be grieved for the continuance
 " of the same. But since the place where departed
 " souls are retained, before they reach Paradise,
 " as well as the nature of their pains, is left un-
 " certain by Scripture; all such questions are to
 " be submitted to God, to whose mercy it is
 " meet and convenient to commend the deceas-
 " ed, trusting that he accepteth our prayers for
 " them ⁴⁴. "

THESE articles, when framed by the convoca-
 tion, and corrected by the king, were subscribed
 by every member of that assembly; while, per-
 haps, neither there nor throughout the whole
 kingdom, could one man be found, except Henry
 himself, who had adopted precisely these very
 doctrines and opinions. For though there be not
 any contradiction in the tenets above mentioned,
 it had happened in England, as in all countries
 where factious divisions have place; a certain
 creed was embraced by each party; few neuters
 were to be found; and these consisted only of
 speculative or whimsical people, of whom two
 persons could scarcely be brought to an agreement
 in the same dogmas. The protestants, all of them,
 carried their opposition to Rome farther than

⁴⁴ Collier, vol. ii. p. 122, & seq. Fuller. Burnet,
 vol. i. p. 215.

those articles: None of the catholics went so far: And the king, by being able to retain the nation in such a delicate medium, displayed the utmost power of an imperious despotism, of which any history furnishes an example. To change the religion of a country, even when seconded by a party, is one of the most perilous enterprizes, which any sovereign can attempt, and often proves the most destructive to royal authority. But Henry was able to set the political machine in that furious movement, and yet regulate and even stop its career: He could say to it, Thus far shalt thou go and no farther: And he made every vote of his parliament and convocation subservient, not only to his interests and passions, but even to his greatest caprices; nay, to his most refined and most scholastic subtilties.

THE concurrence of these two national assemblies served, no doubt, to increase the king's power over the people, and raised him to an authority more absolute, than any prince, in a simple monarchy, even by means of military force, is ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds, beyond which the most slavish submission cannot be extended. All the late innovations, particularly the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the imminent danger to which all the rest were exposed⁴⁵; had bred discontent among the people, and had disposed them to revolt. The expelled monks, wandering about the

⁴⁵ See note [H] at the end of the volume.

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Discontents
among the
people.

country, excited both the piety and compassion of men; and as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives, suited to vulgar capacity, it was able, now that it was brought into apparent hazard, to raise the strongest zeal in its favor ⁴⁶. Discontents had even reached some of the nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded the monasteries, and who placed a vanity in those institutions, as well as reaped some benefit from them, by the provisions which they afforded them for their younger children. The more superstitious were interested for the souls of their forefathers, which, they believed, must now lie, during many ages, in the torments of purgatory, for want of masses to relieve them. It seemed unjust to abolish pious institutions for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals. Even the most moderate and reasonable deemed it somewhat iniquitous, that men, who had been invited into a course of life by all the laws, human and divine, which prevailed in their country, should be turned out of their possessions, and so little care be taken of their future subsistence. And when it was observed, that the rapacity and bribery of the commissioners and others, employed in visiting the monasteries, intercepted much of the profits resulting from these confiscations, it tended much to increase the general discontent ⁴⁷.

BUT the people did not break into open sedition,

⁴⁶ Strype, vol. i. p. 249. ⁴⁷ Burnet, vol. i. p. 223.

till the complaints of the secular clergy concurred with those of the regular. As Cromwel's person was little acceptable to the ecclesiastics; the authority, which he exercised, being so new, so absolute, so unlimited, inspired them with disgust and terror. He published, in the king's name, without the consent either of parliament or convocation, an ordinance, by which he retrenched many of the ancient holydays; prohibited several superstitions, gainful to the clergy, such as pilgrimages, images, relics; and even ordered the incumbents in the parishes to set apart a considerable portion of their revenue for repairs, and for the support of exhibitioners and the poor of their parish. The secular priests, finding themselves thus reduced to a grievous servitude, instilled into the people those discontents, which they had long harboured in their own bosoms.

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THE first rising was in Lincolnshire. It was headed by Dr. Mackrel, prior of Barlings, who was disguised like a mean mechanic, and who bore the name of captain Cobler. This tumultuary army amounted to above 20,000 men⁴⁸; but notwithstanding their number, they showed little disposition of proceeding to extremities against the king, and seemed still overawed by his authority. They acknowledged him to be supreme head of the church of England; but they complained of suppressing the monasteries, of evil counsellors, of persons meanly born raised to

Insurrec-
tion.

⁴⁸ Burnet, vol. i. p. 227. Herbert.

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6th Octob.

dignity, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were exposed: And they prayed the king to consult the nobility of the realm concerning the redress of these grievances⁴⁹. Henry was little disposed to entertain apprehensions of danger, especially from a low multitude, whom he despised. He sent forces against the rebels under the command of the duke of Suffolk; and he returned them a very sharp answer to their petition. There were some gentry, whom the populace had constrained to take part with them, and who kept a secret correspondence with Suffolk. They informed him, that resentment against the king's reply was the chief cause, which retained the malecontents in arms, and that a milder answer would probably suppress the rebellion. Henry had levied a great force at London, with which he was preparing to march against the rebels; and being so well supported by power, he thought, that, without losing his dignity, he might now show them some greater condescension. He sent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with secret assurances of pardon. This expedient had its effect: The populace was dispersed: Mackrel and some of their leaders fell into the king's hands, and were executed: The greater part of the multitude retired peaceably to their usual occupations: A few of the more obstinate fled to the north,

⁴⁹ Herbert, p. 410.

where they joined the insurrection that was raised in those parts.

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THE northern rebels, as they were more numerous, were also, on other accounts, more formidable than those of Lincolnshire; because the people were there more accustomed to arms, and because of their vicinity to the Scots, who might make advantage of these disorders. One Aske, a gentleman, had taken the command of them, and he possessed the art of governing the populace. Their enterprize they called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*: Some priests marched before in the habits of their order, carrying crosses in their hands: In their banners was woven a crucifix, with the representation of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Christ^s: They wore on their sleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle: They all took an oath, that they had entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive, than their love to God, their care of the king's person and issue, their desire of purifying the nobility, of driving base-born persons from about the king, of restoring the church, and of suppressing heresy. Allured by these fair pretences, about 40,000 men from the counties of York, Durham, Lancaster, and those northern provinces, flocked to their standard; and their zeal, no less than their numbers, inspired the court with apprehensions.

THE earl of Shrewsbury, moved by his regard

^s Fox, vol. ii. p. 992.

C H A P. for the king's service, raised forces, though at
 XXXI. first without any commission, in order to oppose
 1536. the rebels. The earl of Cumberland repulsed them
 from his castle of Skipton: Sir Ralph Evers defended
 Scarborough-castle against them⁵¹: Courtney,
 marquis of Exeter, the king's cousin-german,
 obeyed orders from court, and levied troops.
 The earls of Huntingdon, Derby, and Rutland,
 imitated his example. The rebels, however,
 prevailed in taking both Hull and York: They
 had laid siege to Pomfret castle, into which the
 archbishop of York and lord Darcy had thrown
 themselves. It was soon surrendered to them;
 and the prelate and nobleman, who secretly
 wished success to the insurrection, seemed to yield
 to the force imposed on them, and joined the
 rebels.

THE duke of Norfolk was appointed general of
 the king's forces against the northern rebels; and
 as he headed the party at court, which supported
 the ancient religion, he was also suspected of
 bearing some favor to the cause, which he was
 sent to oppose. His prudent conduct, however,
 seems to acquit him of this imputation. He en-
 camped near Doncaster, together with the earl
 of Shrewsbury; and as his army was small, scarcely
 exceeding five thousand men, he made choice of
 a post, where he had a river in front, the ford
 of which he purposed to defend against the rebels.
 They had intended to attack him in the morning;

⁵¹ Stowe, p. 574. Baker, p. 258.

but during the night, there fell such violent rains c H A P.
as rendered the river utterly unpassable; and XXXI.
Norfolk wisely laid hold of the opportunity to 1536.
enter into treaty with them. In order to open
the door for negociation, he sent them a herald;
whom Aske, their leader, received with great
ceremony; he himself sitting in a chair of state,
with the archbishop of York on one hand, and
lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed, that
two gentlemen should be dispatched to the king
with proposals from the rebels; and Henry pur-
posely delayed giving an answer, and allured
them with hopes of entire satisfaction, in ex-
pectation that necessity would soon oblige them
to disperse themselves. Being informed, that his
artifice had, in a great measure, succeeded, he
required them instantly to lay down their arms
and submit to mercy; promising a pardon to all
except six whom he named, and four whom he
reserved to himself the power of naming. But
though the greater part of the rebels had gone
home for want of subsistence, they had entered
into the most solemn engagements to return to
their standards, in case the king's answer should
not prove satisfactory. Norfolk, therefore, soon
found himself in the same difficulty as before;
and he opened again a negociation with the
leaders of the multitude. He engaged them to
send three hundred persons to Doncaster, with
proposals for an accommodation; and he hoped,
by intrigue and separate interests, to throw
dissension among so great a number. Aske himself

C H A P. had intended to be one of the deputies, and he
 XXXI. required a hostage for his security: But the king,
 1536. when consulted, replied, that he knew no gentleman or other, whom he esteemed so little as to put him in pledge for such a villain. The demands of the rebels were so exorbitant, that Norfolk rejected them; and they prepared again to decide the contest by arms. They were as formidable as ever both by their numbers and spirit; and notwithstanding the small river, which lay between them and the royal army, Norfolk had great reason to dread the effects of their fury. But while they were preparing to pass the ford, rain fell a second time in such abundance, as made it impracticable for them to execute their design; and the populace, partly reduced to necessity by want of provisions, partly struck with superstition at being thus again disappointed by the same accident, suddenly dispersed themselves. The duke of Norfolk, who had received powers for that end, forwarded the dispersion, by the promise of a general amnesty; and the king ratified this act of clemency. He published, however, a manifesto against the rebels, and an answer to their complaints; in which he employed a very lofty style, suited to so haughty a monarch. He told them, that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government, than a blind man with regard to colors: "And we," he added, "with our whole council, think it right strange, that ye, who be but brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you

9th Dec.

“to appoint us, who be meet or not for our
“council.”

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1537.

As this pacification was not likely to be of long continuance, Norfolk was ordered to keep his army together, and to march into the northern parts, in order to exact a general submission. Lord Darcy, as well as Aske, was sent for to court; and the former, upon his refusal or delay to appear, was thrown into prison. Every place was full of jealousy and complaints. A new insurrection broke out, headed by Musgrave and Tilby; and the rebels besieged Carlisle with 8000 men. Being repulsed by that city, they were encountered in their retreat by Norfolk, who put them to flight; and having made prisoners of all their officers, except Musgrave, who escaped, he instantly put them to death by martial law, to the number of seventy persons. An attempt, made by Sir Francis Bigot and Halam to surprise Hull, met with no better success; and several other risings were suppressed by the vigilance of Norfolk. The king, enraged by these multiplied revolts, was determined not to adhere to the general pardon, which he had granted; and from a movement of his usual violence, he made the innocent suffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by command from his master, spread the royal banner, and, wherever he thought proper, executed martial law in the punishment of offenders. Besides Aske, leader of the first insurrection, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Stephen Hamilton,

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1537.

Nicholas Tempest, William Lumley, and many others, were thrown into prison; and most of them were condemned and executed. Lord Hussey was found guilty as an accomplice in the insurrection of Lincolnshire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcy, though he pleaded compulsion, and appealed, for his justification, to a long life, spent in the service of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-hill. Before his execution, he accused Norfolk of having secretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry, either sensible of that nobleman's services and convinced of his fidelity, or afraid to offend one of such extensive power and great capacity, rejected the information. Being now fatiated with punishing the rebels, he published a new general pardon, to which he faithfully adhered⁵²; and he erected by patent a court of justice at York, for deciding law-suits in the northern counties: A demand which had been made by the rebels.

October 12.
Birth of
prince Ed-
ward, and
death of Q.
Jane.

SOON after this prosperous success, an event happened, which crowned Henry's joy, the birth of a son, who was baptized by the name of Edward. Yet was not his happiness without alloy: The queen died two days after⁵³. But a son had so long been ardently wished for by Henry, and was now become so necessary, in order to prevent disputes with regard to the succession, after the acts declaring the two princesses illegitimate, that the king's affliction was drowned

⁵² Herbert, p. 428.

⁵³ Strype, vol. ii, p. 5.

in his joy, and he expressed great satisfaction on the occasion. The prince, not six days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. Sir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, formerly made Lord Beauchamp, was raised to the dignity of earl of Hertford. Sir William Fitz Williams, high admiral, was created earl of Southampton; Sir William Paulet, Lord St. John; Sir John Russel, Lord Russel.

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THE suppression of the rebellion and the birth of a son, as they confirmed Henry's authority at home, increased his consideration among foreign princes, and made his alliance be courted by all parties. He maintained, however, a neutrality in the wars, which were carried on, with various success, and without any decisive event, between Charles and Francis; and though inclined more to favor the latter, he determined not to incur, without necessity, either hazard or expence on his account. A truce, concluded about this time between these potentates, and afterwards prolonged for ten years, freed him from all anxiety on account of his ally, and re-established the tranquillity of Europe.

1538.

HENRY continued desirous of cementing a union with the German protestants; and for that purpose, he sent Christopher Mount to a congress which they held at Brunswick; but that minister made no great progress in his negociation. The princes wished to know, what were the articles in their confession which Henry disliked; and they sent new ambassadors to him, who had orders

C H A P. both to negotiate and to dispute. They endeavoured to convince the king, that he was guilty of a mistake, in administering the eucharist in one kind only, in allowing private masses, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy⁵⁴. Henry would by no means acknowledge any error in these particulars; and was displeased that they should pretend to prescribe rules to so great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments and syllogisms enow to defend his cause; and he dismissed the ambassadors without coming to any conclusion. Jealous also lest his own subjects should become such theologians as to question his tenets, he used great precaution in publishing that translation of the Scripture which was finished this year. He would only allow a copy of it to be deposited in some parish churches, where it was fixed by a chain: And he took care to inform the people by proclamation, “ That this indulgence
 “ was not the effect of his duty, but of his
 “ goodness and his liberality to them; who
 “ therefore should use it moderately, for the in-
 “ crease of virtue, not of strife: And he ordered
 “ that no man should read the Bible aloud, so
 “ as to disturb the priest, while he sang mass,
 “ nor presume to expound doubtful places, with-
 “ out advice from the learned.” In this measure, as in the rest, he still halted half way between the catholics and the protestants.

⁵⁴ Collier, vol. ii. p. 145. from the Cott. Lib. Cleopatra, E. 5. fol. 173.]

THERE was only one particular, in which Henry was quite decisive; because he was impelled by his avarice, or more properly speaking, his rapacity, the consequence of his profusion: This measure was the entire destruction of the monasteries. The present opportunity seemed favorable for that great enterprise, while the suppression of the late rebellion fortified and increased the royal authority; and as some of the abbots were suspected of having encouraged the insurrection, and of corresponding with the rebels, the king's resentment was farther incited by that motive. A new visitation was appointed of all the monasteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince, possessed of such unlimited power, and seconding the present humor of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger, to which they were exposed; and having learned, by the example of the lesser monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces and even extreme violence were employed; and as several of the abbots, since the breach with Rome, had been named by the court, with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more easily effected. Some also, having secretly embraced the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and on the whole, the

C H A P.

XXXI.

1538.

Suppression
of the great-
er monas-
teries.

C H A P. design was conducted with such success, that, in
XXXI. less than two years, the king had got possession
1538. of all the monastic revenues.

IN several places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, it was thought, that their houses should be saved from the general destruction⁵⁵. There appeared also great difference between the case of nuns and that of friars; and the one institution might be laudable, while the other was exposed to much blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with industry, might be of service to the public; and none of them could want employment, suited to his station and capacity. But a woman of a family, who failed of a settlement in the married state, an accident to which such persons were more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank which she properly filled: And a convent was a retreat both honorable and agreeable, from the inutility and often want, which attended her situation. But the king was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination; and probably thought, that these ancient establishments would be the sooner forgotten, if no remains of them, of any kind, were allowed to subsist in the kingdom.

THE better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the de-

⁵⁵ Burnet, vol. i. p. 328.

testable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin. The relics also and other superstitions, which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needless to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: Protestant historians mention on this occasion with great triumph the sacred repositories of convents; the parings of St. Edmond's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the girdle of the Virgin shown in eleven several places; two or three heads of St. Ursula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the head-ach; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much revered by big-bellied women; some relics, an excellent preventive against rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But such fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity, form no particular or violent reproach to the catholic religion.

THERE were also discovered, or said to be discovered, in the monasteries some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Gloucester, there had been shown, during several ages, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem; and it is easy to imagine the veneration with which such a relic was regarded.

C H A P. XXXI. 1538. A miraculous circumstance also attended this miraculous relic; the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin, even when set before him; and till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, it would not deign to discover itself to him. At the dissolution of the monastery, the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks, who were let into the secret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: They put it in a phial, one side of which consisted of thin and transparent chrystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to show him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences; and then finding his money, or patience, or faith, nearly exhausted, they made him happy by turning the phial ⁵⁶.

A MIRACULOUS crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*. The lips, and eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's cross, and showed to the whole people the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. A great wooden idol revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was also brought to London, and cut in pieces: And by a cruel refinement in vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn friar Forest ⁵⁷, who was punished

⁵⁶ Herbert, p. 431, 432. Stowe, p. 575.

⁵⁷ Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 575. Herbert. Baker, p. 286.

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for denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A finger of St. Andrew's, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commissioners refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the poor creditor, on account of his pledge.

BUT of all the instruments of ancient superstition, no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence, which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account also, the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb, and numberless were the miracles, which, they pretended, his relics wrought in favor of his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday: Every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honor, which lasted fifteen days: Plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year three pounds two shillings and six pence; at the Virgin's, sixty-three pounds five shillings and six pence; at St. Thomas's,

C H A P. eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve
 XXXI. shillings and three pence. But next year, the
 1538. disproportion was still greater: There was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one shilling and eight pence; but St. Thomas had got for his share nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and three pence⁵⁸. Lewis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a jewel, esteemed the richest in Christendom. It is evident, how obnoxious to Henry a saint of this character must appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich shrine, dedicated to St. Thomas: He made the saint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor: He ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown in the air.

ON the whole, the king, at different times, suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries: Of which twenty-eight had abbots, that enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels: A hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds⁵⁹. It is worthy of observation, that all

⁵⁸ Burnet, vol. i. p. 244. ⁵⁹ Lord Herbert. Camden, Speed.

the lands and possessions and revenue of England had, a little before this period, been rated at four millions a year; so that the revenues of the monks, even comprehending the lesser monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income: A sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents, were usually let at very low rent; and the farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, took always care to renew their leases before they expired⁶⁰.

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GREAT murmurs were every where excited on account of these violences; and men much questioned, whether priors and monks, who were only trustees or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the king the entire property of their estates. In order to reconcile the people to such mighty innovations, they were told, that the king would never thenceforth have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able from the abbey lands alone, to bear, during war as well as peace, the whole charges of government⁶¹. While such topics were employed to appease the populace, Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures⁶²: He either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favorites and courtiers, or sold them at

⁶⁰ See note [I] at the end of the volume.

⁶¹ Coke's 4th Inst. fol. 44.

⁶² Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 800.

CHAP. low prices, or exchanged them for other lands
 XXXI. on very disadvantageous terms. He was so pro-
 1538. fuse in these liberalities, that he is said to have
 given a woman the whole revenue of a convent,
 as a reward for making a pudding, which hap-
 pened to gratify his palate ⁶³. He also settled
 pensions on the abbots and priors, proportioned
 to their former revenues or to their merits; and
 gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks:
 He erected six new bishoprics, Westminster,
 Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and
 Gloucester; of which five subsist at this day:
 And by all these means of expence and dissipa-
 tion, the profit, which the king reaped by the
 seizure of church lands, fell much short of vulgar
 opinion. As the ruin of convents had been
 foreseen some years before it happened, the
 monks had taken care to secrete most of their
 stock, furniture, and plate; so that the spoils of
 the great monasteries bore not, in these respects,
 any proportion to those of the lesser.

BESIDE the lands, possessed by the monasteries,
 the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of
 the benefices of England, and of the tithes,
 annexed to them; and these were also at this
 time transferred to the crown, and by that means
 passed into the hands of laymen; An abuse which
 many zealous churchmen regard as the most
 criminal sacrilege. The monks were formerly
 much at their ease in England, and enjoyed

⁶³ Fuller.

revenues, which exceeded the regular and stated expence of the house. We read of the abbey of Chertsey in Surrey, which possessed 744 pounds a year, though it contained only fourteen monks: That of Furnese, in the county of Lincoln, was valued at 960 pounds a year, and contained but thirty⁶⁴. In order to dissipate their revenues, and support popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner; and besides the poor, maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who passed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely subsisted at the tables of the friars. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness; but the king, not to give offence by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands, to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.

It is easy to imagine the indignation, with which the intelligence of all these acts of violence was received at Rome; and how much the ecclesiastics of that court, who had so long kept the world in subjection by high sounding epithets, and by holy execrations, would now vent their rhetoric against the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was at last incited to publish the bull, which had been passed against that monarch; and in a public manner he delivered over

⁶⁴ Burnet, vol. i. p. 237.

C H A P. his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the
 XXXI. first invader. Libels were dispersed, in which he
 1538. was a-new compared to the most furious persecutors in antiquity; and the preference was now given to their side: He had declared war with the dead, whom the pagans themselves respected; was at open hostility with heaven; and had engaged in professed enmity with the whole host of saints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his resemblance to the emperor Julian, whom, it was said, he imitated in his apostacy and learning, though he fell short of him in morals. Henry could distinguish in some of these libels the style and animosity of his kinsman, Pole; and he was thence incited to vent his rage, by every possible expedient, on that famous cardinal.

Cardinal
Pole.

REGINALD DE LA POLE, or Reginald Pole, was descended from the royal family, being fourth son of the countess of Salisbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He gave in early youth indications of that fine genius, and generous disposition, by which, during his whole life, he was so much distinguished; and Henry, having conceived great friendship for him, intended to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities; and, as a pledge of future favors, he conferred on him the deanry of Exeter[“], the better to support him in his education. Pole was carrying on his studies in the university of Paris, at the time when the

[“] Goodwin's Annals.

king solicited the suffrages of that learned body C H A P.
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in favor of his divorce; but though applied to by the English agent, he declined taking any part in the affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce all friendship with a person, whose virtues and talents, he hoped, would prove useful, as well as ornamental, to his court and kingdom. He allowed him still to possess his deanry, and gave him permission to finish his studies at Padua: He even paid him some court, in order to bring him into his measures; and wrote to him, while in that university, desiring him to give his opinion freely, with regard to the late measures taken in England, for abolishing the papal authority. Pole had now contracted an intimate friendship with all persons eminent for dignity or merit in Italy, Sadolet, Bembo, and other revivers of true taste and learning; and he was moved by these connexions, as well as by religious zeal, to forget, in some respect, the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor, and his sovereign. He replied, by writing a treatise of *the unity of the church*, in which he inveighed against the king's supremacy, his divorce, his second marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the Imperial family, and to the catholic cause. Henry, though provoked beyond measure at this outrage, dissembled his resentment; and he sent a message to Pole, desiring him to return to England, in order to

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explain certain passages in his book, which he found somewhat obscure and difficult. Pole was on his guard against this insidious invitation; and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was universally beloved.

THE pope and emperor thought themselves obliged to provide for a man of Pole's eminence and dignity, who, in support of their cause, had sacrificed all his pretensions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and though he took not higher orders than those of a deacon, he was sent legate into Flanders about the year 1536⁶⁶. Henry was sensible, that Pole's chief intention in chusing that employment, was to foment the mutinous disposition of the English catholics; and he therefore remonstrated in so vigorous a manner with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that she dismissed the legate, without allowing him to exercise his functions. The enmity, which he bore to Pole, was now as open, as it was violent; and the cardinal, on his part, kept no farther measures in his intrigues against Henry. He is even suspected of having aspired to the crown, by means of a marriage with the lady Mary; and the king was every day more alarmed by informations, which he received, of the correspondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conspiracy with him; Sir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord

⁶⁶ Herbert.

Abergavenny, Sir Nicholas Carew, master of horse, and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute, and Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. These persons were indicted, and tried, and convicted, before lord Audley, who presided in the trial, as high steward; they were all executed, except Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having first carried to the king secret intelligence of the conspiracy. We know little concerning the justice or iniquity of the sentence pronounced against these men: We only know, that the condemnation of a man, who was, at that time, prosecuted by the court, forms no presumption of his guilt; though, as no historian of credit mentions, in the present case, any complaint occasioned by these trials, we may presume, that sufficient evidence was produced against the marquis of Exeter, and his associates⁶⁷.

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⁶⁷ Herbert in Kennet, p. 216.

C H A P. XXXII.

Disputation with Lambert — A Parliament — Laws of the six articles — Proclamations made equal to laws — Settlement of the succession — King's projects of marriage — He marries Anne of Cleves — He dislikes her — A Parliament — Fall of Cromwel — His execution — King's divorce from Anne of Cleves — His marriage with Catherine Howard — State of affairs in Scotland — Discovery of the Queen's dissolute life — A Parliament — Ecclesiastical affairs.

C H A P.
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1538.

THE rough hand of Henry seemed well adapted for rending asunder those bands, by which the ancient superstition had fastened itself on the kingdom; and though, after renouncing the pope's supremacy and suppressing monasteries, most of the political ends of reformation were already attained, few people expected that he would stop at those innovations. The spirit of opposition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmost extremities against the church of Rome; and lead him to declare war against the whole doctrine and worship, as well as discipline, of that mighty hierarchy. He had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but now, when a general council was summoned to meet at Mantua, he previously renounced all submission

to it, as summoned by the pope, and lying entirely under subjection to that spiritual usurper. He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpose; and he had prescribed to them many other deviations from ancient tenets and practices. Cranmer took advantage of every opportunity to carry him on in this course; and while queen Jane lived, who favored the reformers, he had, by means of her insinuation and address, been successful in his endeavours. After her death, Gardiner, who was returned from his embassy to France, kept the king more in suspense; and by feigning an unlimited submission to his will, was frequently able to guide him to his own purposes. Fox, bishop of Hereford, had supported Cranmer in his schemes for a more thorough reformation; but his death had made way for the promotion of Bonner, who, though he had hitherto seemed a furious enemy to the court of Rome, was determined to sacrifice every thing to present interest, and had joined the confederacy of Gardiner, and the partisans of the old religion. Gardiner himself, it is believed, had secretly entered into measures with the pope, and even with the emperor; and in concert with these powers, he endeavoured to preserve, as much as possible, the ancient faith and worship.

HENRY was so much governed by passion, that nothing could have retarded his animosity and opposition against Rome, but some other passion, which stopped his career, and raised him new objects of animosity. Though he had gra-

C H A P.
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1538.

C H A P. dually, since the commencement of his scruples
 XXXII. with regard to his first marriage, been changing
 1538. the tenets of that theological system, in which he
 had been educated, he was no less positive and
 dogmatical in the few articles which remained to
 him, than if the whole fabric had continued
 entire and unshaken. And though he stood alone
 in his opinion, the flattery of courtiers had so
 inflamed his tyrannical arrogance, that he thought
 himself entitled to regulate, by his own particular
 standard, the religious faith of the whole nation.
 The point, on which he chiefly rested his ortho-
 doxy, happened to be the real presence; that
 very doctrine, in which, among the numberless
 victories of superstition over common sense, her
 triumph is the most signal and egregious. All
 departure from this principle he held to be heretic-
 al and detestable; and nothing, he thought,
 would be more honorable for him, than while
 he broke off all connexions with the Roman pon-
 tiff, to maintain, in this essential article, the
 purity of the catholic faith.

Disputation
 with Lam-
 bert.

THERE was one Lambert^r, a school-master in
 London, who had been questioned and confined
 for unsound opinions by archbishop Warham;
 but, upon the death of that prelate, and the
 change of counsels at court, he had been re-
 leased. Not terrified with the danger which he
 had incurred, he still continued to promulgate
 his tenets; and having heard Dr. Taylor, after-

^r Fox, vol. ii. p. 396.

wards bishop of Lincoln, defend in a sermon the corporal presence, he could not forbear expressing to Taylor his dissent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten several heads. Taylor communicated the paper to Dr. Barnes, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained that though the substance of bread and wine remained in the sacrament, yet the real body and blood of Christ were there also, and were, in a certain mysterious manner, incorporated with the material elements. By the present laws and practice Barnes was no less exposed to the stake than Lambert; yet such was the persecuting rage which prevailed, that he determined to bring this man to condign punishment; because, in their common departure from the ancient faith, he had dared to go one step farther than himself. He engaged Taylor to accuse Lambert before Cranmer and Latimer, who, whatever their private opinion might be on these points, were obliged to conform themselves to the standard of orthodoxy, established by Henry. When Lambert was cited before these prelates, they endeavoured to bend him to a recantation; and they were surprised, when, instead of complying, he ventured to appeal to the king.

THE king, not displeased with an opportunity, where he could at once exert his supremacy, and display his learning, accepted the appeal; and resolved to mix, in a very unfair manner, the magistrate with the disputant. Public notice was given, that he intended to enter the lists

C H A P. with the schoolmaster : Scaffolds were erected in
 XXXII. Westminster-hall, for the accommodation of the
 1538. audience: Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty: The prelates were placed on his right hand: The temporal peers on his left. The judges and most eminent lawyers had a place assigned them behind the bishops: The courtiers of greatest distinction behind the peers: And in the midst of this splendid assembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, who was required to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist².

THE bishop of Chichester opened the conference, by saying, that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his bishop to the king; as if he expected more favor from this application, and as if the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic: That though his majesty had thrown off the usurpations of the see of Rome; had disincorporated some idle monks, who lived like drones in a bee-hive; had abolished the idolatrous worship of images; had published the bible in English, for the instruction of all his subjects, and had made some lesser alterations, which every one must approve of; yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to punish with the utmost severity all departure from it: And that he had taken the present opportunity, before so learned and grave an audience, of convincing Lambert

² Fox, vol. ii. p. 426.

of his errors; but if he still continued obstinate in them, he must expect the most condign punishment³.

C H A P.
XXXII.
1538.

AFTER this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the king asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of Christ's corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar; and when Lambert began his reply with some compliment to his majesty, he rejected the praise with disdain and indignation. He afterwards pressed Lambert with arguments, drawn from Scripture and the schoolmen: The audience applauded the force of his reasoning, and the extent of his erudition: Cranmer seconded his proofs by some new topics: Gardiner entered the lists as a support to Cranmer: Tonstal took up the argument after Gardiner: Stokesley brought fresh aid to Tonstal: Six bishops more appeared successively in the field after Stokesley. And the disputation, if it deserve the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, brow-beaten, and abashed, was at last reduced to silence. The king, then returning to the charge, asked him whether he were convinced? and he proposed, as a concluding argument, this interesting question, Whether he were resolved to live or to die? Lambert, who possessed that courage which consists in obstinacy, replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency: The king told him, that he

³ Goodwin's Annals.

C H A P. would be no protector of heretics; and there-
 XXXII. fore, if that were his final answer, he must ex-
 1538. pect to be committed to the flames. Cromwel,
 as vicegerent, pronounced the sentence against
 him ⁴.

LAMBERT, whose vanity had probably incited him the more to persevere on account of the greatness of this public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of the punishment, to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the sufferings of a man who had personally opposed the king, as cruel as possible: He was burned at a slow fire; his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps; and when there appeared no end of his torments, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, *None but Christ, none but Christ*; and these words were in his mouth when he expired ⁵.

SOME few days before this execution, four Dutch anabaptists, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at Paul's Cross, and were burned in that manner. And a man and a woman of the same sect and country were burned in Smithfield ⁶.

⁴ See note [K] at the end of the volume.

⁵ Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 427. Burnet,

⁶ Stowe, p. 556.

IT was the unhappy fate of the English, during this age, that, when they labored under any grievance, they had not the satisfaction of expecting redress from parliament: On the contrary, they had reason to dread each meeting of that assembly, and were then sure of having tyranny converted into law, and aggravated, perhaps, with some circumstance, which the arbitrary prince and his ministers had not hitherto devised, or did not think proper, of themselves, to carry into execution. This abject servility never appeared more conspicuously than in a new parliament, which the king now assembled, and which, if he had been so pleased, might have been the last that ever sat in England. But he found them too useful instruments of dominion, ever to entertain thoughts of giving them a total exclusion.

C H A P.
XXXII.
1539.
A parliament.
28th April.

THE chancellor opened the parliament by informing the house of lords, that it was his majesty's earnest desire to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion in matters of religion; and as this undertaking was, he owned, important and arduous, he desired them to chuse a committee from among themselves, who might draw up certain articles of faith, and communicate them afterwards to the parliament. The lords named the vicar-general, Cromwel, now created a peer, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Bangor, and Ely. The house might have seen what a hopeful task they had under-

C H A P. taken: This small committee itself was agitated
 XXXII. with such diversity of opinion, that it could come
 1539. to no conclusion. The duke of Norfolk then
 moved in the house, that, since there were no
 hopes of having a report from the committee,
 the articles of faith, intended to be established,
 should be reduced to six; and a new committee
 be appointed to draw an act with regard to them.
 As this peer was understood to speak the sense
 of the king, his motion was immediately complied
 with; and, after a short prorogation, the bill of
 the *six articles*, or the bloody bill, as the protest-
 ants justly termed it, was introduced, and having
 passed the two houses, received the royal assent.

Law of the
 six articles.

IN this law, the doctrine of the real presence
 was established, the communion in one kind, the
 perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the
 utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy,
 and the necessity of auricular confession. The
 denial of the first article, with regard to the real
 presence, subjected the person to death by fire,
 and to the same forfeiture as in cases of treason;
 and admitted not the privilege of abjuring: An
 unheard-of severity, and unknown to the inqui-
 sition itself. The denial of any of the other five
 articles, even though recanted, was punishable
 by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and im-
 prisonment during the king's pleasure: An obsti-
 nate adherence to error, or a relapse, was ad-
 judged to be felony, and punishable with death.
 The marriage of priests was subjected to the same
 punishment. Their commerce with women was,

on the first offence, forfeiture and imprisonment; on the second, death. The abstaining from confession, and from receiving the eucharist at the accustomed times, subjected the person to fine, and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure; and if the criminal persevered after conviction, he was punishable by death and forfeiture, as in cases of felony ⁷. Commissioners were to be appointed by the king, for inquiring into these heresies and irregular practices; and the criminals were to be tried by a jury.

THE king, in framing this law, laid his oppressive hand on both parties; and even the catholics had reason to complain, that the friars and nuns, though dismissed their convent, should be capriciously restrained to the practice of celibacy ⁸: But as the protestants were chiefly exposed to the severity of the statute, the misery of adversaries, according to the usual maxims of party, was regarded by the adherents to the ancient religion, as their own prosperity and triumph. Cranmer had the courage to oppose this bill in the house; and though the king desired him to absent himself, he could not be prevailed on to give this proof of compliance ⁹. Henry was accustomed to Cranmer's freedom and sincerity; and being convinced of the general rectitude of his intentions, gave him an unusual indulgence

C H A P.
XXXII.
1539.

⁷ 31 Henry VIII. c. 14. Herbert in Kennet, p. 219.

⁸ See note [L] at the end of the volume.

⁹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 249. 270. Fox, vol. ii. p. 1037.

C H A P. in this particular, and never allowed even a
 XXXII. whisper against him. That prelate, however,
 1539. was now obliged, in obedience to the statute,
 to dismiss his wife, the niece of Osiander, a
 famous divine of Nuremburg ¹⁰; and Henry,
 satisfied with this proof of submission; showed
 him his former countenance and favor. Latimer
 and Shaxton threw up their bishoprics on account
 of the law, and were committed to prison.

Proclama-
 tions made
 equal to
 laws.

THE parliament, having thus resigned all their
 religious liberties, proceeded to an entire sur-
 render of their civil; and without scruple or
 deliberation they made by one act a total sub-
 version of the English constitution. They gave
 to the king's proclamation the same force as to
 a statute enacted by parliament; and to render
 the matter worse, if possible, they framed this
 law, as if it were only declaratory, and were
 intended to explain the natural extent of royal
 authority. The preamble contains, that the king
 had formerly set forth several proclamations which
 forward persons had wilfully contemned, not con-
 sidering what a king by his royal power may
 do; that this licence might encourage offenders
 not only to disobey the laws of Almighty God,
 but also to dishonor the king's most royal majesty,
who may full ill bear it; that sudden emergencies
 often occur, which require speedy remedies, and
 cannot await the slow assembling and deliberations
 of parliament; and that, though the king was

¹⁰ Herbert in Kennet, p. 219.

empowered, by his authority, derived from God, to consult the public good on these occasions, yet the opposition of refractory subjects might push him to extremity and violence: For these reasons, the parliament, that they might remove all occasion of doubt, ascertained by a statute this prerogative of the crown, and enabled his majesty, with the advice of his council, to set forth proclamations, enjoining obedience under whatever pains and penalties he should think proper: And these proclamations were to have the force of perpetual laws¹¹.

C H A P.

XXXII.

1539.

WHAT proves either a stupid or a wilful blindness in the parliament is, that they pretended, even after this statute, to maintain some limitations in the government; and they enacted, that no proclamation should deprive any person of his lawful possessions, liberties, inheritances, privileges, franchises; nor yet infringe any common law or laudable custom of the realm. They did not consider, that no penalty could be inflicted on the disobeying of proclamations, without invading some liberty or property of the subject; and that the power of enacting new laws, joined to the dispensing power, then exercised by the crown, amounted to a full legislative authority. It is true, the kings of England had always been accustomed, from their own authority, to issue proclamations, and to exact obedience to them; and this prerogative was, no

¹¹ 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

C H A P. doubt, a strong symptom of absolute government :
 XXXII. But still there was a difference between a power,
 1539. which was exercised on a particular emergency,
 and which must be justified by the present expedience or necessity; and an authority conferred by a positive statute, which could no longer admit of controul or limitation.

COULD any act be more opposite to the spirit of liberty than this law, it would have been another of the same parliament. They passed an act of attainder, not only against the marquis of Exeter, the lords Montacute, Darcy, Hussey, and others, who had been legally tried and condemned; but also against some persons, of the highest quality, who had never been accused, or examined, or convicted. The violent hatred, which Henry bore to cardinal Pole, had extended itself to all his friends and relations; and his mother in particular, the countess of Salisbury, had, on that account, become extremely obnoxious to him. She was also accused of having employed her authority with her tenants, to hinder them from reading the new translation of the Bible; of having procured bulls from Rome, which, it is said, had been seen at Coudray, her country seat; and of having kept a correspondence with her son, the cardinal: But Henry found, either that these offences could not be proved, or that they would not by law be subjected to such severe punishments as he desired to inflict upon her. He resolved, therefore, to proceed in a more summary and more tyrannical

manner; and for that purpose, he sent Cromwel, who was but too obsequious to his will, to ask the judges, whether the parliament could attain a person, who was forth-coming, without giving him any trial, or citing him to appear before them ¹²? The judges replied, that it was a dangerous question, and that the high court of parliament ought to give the example to inferior courts, of proceeding according to justice: No inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner, and they thought that the parliament never would. Being pressed to give a more explicit answer, they replied, that, if a person were attainted in that manner, the attainder could never afterwards be brought in question, but must remain good in law. Henry learned by this decision, that such a method of proceeding, though directly contrary to all the principles of equity, was yet practicable; and this being all he was anxious to know, he resolved to employ it against the countess of Salisbury. Cromwel showed to the house of peers a banner, on which were embroidered the five wounds of Christ, the symbol, chosen by the northern rebels; and this banner, he affirmed, was found in the countess's house ¹³. No other proof seems to have been produced, in order to ascertain her guilt: The parliament, without farther inquiry, passed a bill of attainder against her; and they involved in the same bill, without

C H A P.

XXXII.

1539.

¹² Coke's 4th Inst. p. 37, 38.
p. 652.

¹³ Rymer, vol. xiv.

C H A P. any better proof, as far as appears, Gertrude
 XXXII. marchionefs of Exeter, Sir Adrian Fortescue, and
 1539. Sir Thomas Dingley. These two gentlemen were
 executed: The marchionefs was pardoned, and
 furvived the king; the countefs received a reprieve.

THE only beneficial act, passed this feflion, was that by which the parliament confirmed the furrender of the monafteries; yet even this act contains much falfehood, much tyranny, and were it not that all private rights muft fubmit to public intereft, much injuftice and iniquity. The fcheme of engaging the abbots to furrender their monafteries had been conducted, as may eafily be imagined, with many invidious circumftances: Arts of all kinds had been employed; every motive, that could work on the frailty of human nature, had been fet before them; and it was with great difficulty that thefe dignified conventuals were brought to make a confeffion, which moft of them regarded as destructive of their interefts, as well as facrilegious and criminal in itfelf¹⁴. Three abbots had fhown more conftancy than the reft, the abbots of Colchefters, Reading, and Glaftenbury; and in order to punifh them for their oppofition, and make them an example to others, means had been found to convict them of treafon; they had perifhed by the hands of the executioner, and the revenue of the convents had been forfeited¹⁵. Befides, though none of

¹⁴ Collier, vol. ii. p. 158. & feq.

¹⁵ 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

these violences had taken place, the king knew, C H A P.
 that a surrender made by men, who were only XXXII.
 tenants for life, would not bear examination; and 1539.
 he was therefore resolved to make all sure by
 his usual expedient, an act of parliament. In
 the preamble to this act, the parliament asserts,
 that all the surrenders, made by the abbots, had
 been, "without constraint, of their own accord,
 "and according to due course of common law."
 And in consequence, the two houses confirm the
 surrenders, and secure the property of the abbey
 lands to the king and his successors for ever¹⁶.
 It is remarkable, that all the mitred abbots still
 sat in the house of peers; and that none of them
 made any protests against this injurious statute.

IN this session, the rank of all the great officers
 of state was fixed: Cromwel, as vicegerent, had
 the precedence assigned him above all of them.
 It was thought singular, that a blacksmith's son,
 for he was no other, should have place next the
 royal family; and that a man, possessed of no
 manner of literature, should be set at the head of
 the church.

As soon as the act of the six articles had passed,
 the catholics were extremely vigilant in informing
 against offenders; and no less than five hundred
 persons were in a little time thrown into prison.
 But Cromwel, who had not had interest to
 prevent that act, was able, for the present, to
 elude its execution. Seconded by the duke of

¹⁶ 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

C H A P. Suffolk, and chancellor Audley, as well as by
 XXXII. Cranmer, he remonstrated against the cruelty of
 1539. punishing so many delinquents; and he obtained
 permission to set them at liberty. The uncertainty
 of the king's humor gave each party an oppor-
 tunity of triumphing in his turn. No sooner had
 Henry passed this law, which seemed to inflict
 so deep a wound on the reformers, than he granted
 a general permission, for every one to have the
 new translation of the Bible in his family: A
 concession regarded by that party, as an import-
 ant victory.

Henry's
 projects of
 marriage.

BUT as Henry was observed to be much go-
 verned by his wives, while he retained his fond-
 ness for them, the final prevalence of either party
 seemed much to depend on the choice of the
 future queen. Immediately after the death of
 Jane Seymour, the most beloved of all his wives,
 he began to think of a new marriage. He first
 cast his eye towards the dutchess-dowager of
 Milan, niece to the emperor; and he made pro-
 posals for that alliance. But meeting with diffi-
 culties, he was carried, by his friendship for
 Francis, rather to think of a French princess.
 He demanded the dutchess-dowager of Longue-
 ville, daughter of the duke of Guise, a prince
 of the house of Lorraine; but Francis told him,
 that the lady was already betrothed to the king
 of Scotland. The king, however, would not
 take a refusal: He had set his heart extremely on
 the match: The information, which he had re-
 ceived, of the dutchess's accomplishments and

beauty, had prepossessed him in her favor; and having privately sent over Meautys to examine her person, and get certain intelligence of her conduct, the accounts, which that agent brought him, served farther to inflame his desires. He learned, that she was big made; and he thought her, on that account, the more proper match for him, who was now become somewhat corpulent. The pleasure too of mortifying his nephew, whom he did not love, was a farther incitement to his prosecution of this match; and he insisted, that Francis should give him the preference to the king of Scots. But Francis, though sensible that the alliance of England was of much greater importance to his interests, would not affront his friend and ally; and to prevent farther solicitation, he immediately sent the princess to Scotland. Not to shock, however, Henry's humor, Francis made him an offer of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome; but as the king was informed, that James had formerly rejected this princess, he would not hear any farther of such a proposal. The French monarch then offered him the choice of the two younger sisters of the queen of Scots; and he assured him, that they were nowise inferior either in merit or size to their elder sister, and that one of them was even superior in beauty. The king was as scrupulous with regard to the person of his wives, as if his heart had been really susceptible of a delicate passion; and he was unwilling to trust any relations, or even pictures, with

C H A P.

XXXII.

1539.

C H A P. regard to this important particular. He proposed
 XXXII. to Francis, that they should have a conference
 1539. at Calais on pretence of business; and that this monarch should bring along with him the two princesses of Guise, together with the finest ladies of quality in France, that he might make a choice among them. But the gallant spirit of Francis was shocked with the proposal: He was impressed with too much regard, he said, for the fair sex, to carry ladies of the first quality, like geldings, to a market, there to be chosen or rejected by the humor of the purchaser¹⁷. Henry would hearken to none of these niceties, but still insisted on his proposal; which, however, notwithstanding Francis's earnest desire of obliging him, was finally rejected.

THE king then began to turn his thoughts towards a German alliance; and as the princes of the Smalkaldic league were extremely disgusted with the emperor on account of his persecuting their religion, he hoped, by matching himself into one of their families, to renew a connexion, which he regarded as so advantageous to him. Cromwel joyfully seconded this intention; and proposed to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutheran princes, and whose sister, Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the protestant league. A flattering picture of the princess by Hans Holben determined Henry

¹⁷ Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 638.

to apply to her father; and after some negotiation, the marriage, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector of Saxony, was at last concluded; and Anne was sent over to England. The king, impatient to be satisfied with regard to the person of his bride, came privately to Rochester, and got a sight of her. He found her big, indeed, and tall, as he could wish; but utterly destitute both of beauty and grace; very unlike the pictures and representations, which he had received: He swore she was a great Flanders-mare; and declared, that he never could possibly bear her any affection. The matter was worse, when he found, that she could speak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant; and that the charms of her conversation were not likely to compensate for the homeliness of her person. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy; and he much lamented his hard fate to Cromwel, as well as to Lord Ruffel, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Anthony Denny. This last gentleman, in order to give him comfort, told him, that his misfortune was common to him with all kings, who could not, like private persons, chuse for themselves, but must receive their wives from the judgment and fancy of others.

C H A P.
XXXII.
1539.

He marries
Anne of
Cleves.

Dislikes her.

It was the subject of debate among the king's counsellors, whether the marriage could not yet be dissolved; and the princess be sent back to her own country. Henry's situation seemed at that time very critical. After the ten years' truce, concluded between the emperor and the king of

C H A P. France, a good understanding was thought to
 XXXII. have taken place between these rival monarchs;
 1539. and such marks of union appeared, as gave great jealousy to the court of England. The emperor, who knew the generous nature of Francis, even put a confidence in him, which is rare, to that degree, among great princes. An insurrection had been raised in the Low-Countries by the inhabitants of Ghent, and seemed to threaten the most dangerous consequences. Charles, who resided at that time in Spain, resolved to go in person to Flanders, in order to appease those disorders; but he found great difficulties in chusing the manner of his passing thither. The road by Italy and Germany was tedious: The voyage through the Channel dangerous, by reason of the English naval power: He asked Francis's permission to pass through his dominions; and he intrusted himself into the hands of a rival, whom he had so mortally offended. The French monarch received him at Paris, with great magnificence and courtesy; and though prompted both by revenge and interest, as well as by the advice of his mistress and favorites, to make advantage of the present opportunity, he conducted the emperor safely out of his dominions; and would not so much as speak to him of business during his abode in France, lest his demands should bear the air of violence upon his royal guest.

HENRY, who was informed of all these particulars, believed that an entire and cordial union had taken place between these princes; and that

their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England¹⁸. An alliance with the German princes seemed now, more than ever, requisite for his interest and safety; and he knew, that, if he sent back the princess of Cleves, such an affront would be highly resented by her friends and family. He was therefore resolved, notwithstanding his aversion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwel, that, since matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke. Cromwel, who knew how much his own interests were concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his spouse any better. The king told him, that he hated her worse than ever; and that her person was more disgusting on a near approach: He was resolved never to meddle with her; and even suspected her not to be a true maid: A point, about which he entertained an extreme delicacy. He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; he even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwel; but though he exerted this command over himself, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to burst out on the first opportunity.

C H A P.

XXXII.

1540.

6th January.

A session of parliament was held; and none of the abbots were now allowed a place in the house of peers. The king, by the mouth of the chancellor, complained to the parliament of

12 April.

A parliament.

¹⁸ Stowe, p. 579.

CHAP. the great diversity of religions, which still prevailed
 XXXII. among his subjects: A grievance, he affirmed,
 1540. which ought the less to be endured, because the
 Scriptures were now published in English, and
 ought universally to be the standard of belief to
 all mankind. But he had appointed, he said,
 some bishops and divines to draw up a list of
 tenets, to which his people were to assent; and
 he was determined, that Christ, the doctrine of
 Christ, and the truth, should have the victory.
 The king seems to have expected more effect in
 ascertaining truth, from this new book of his
 doctors, than had ensued from the publication of
 the Scriptures. Cromwel, as vicar-general, made
 also in the king's name a speech to the upper
 house; and the peers, in return, bestowed great
 flattery on him, and in particular said that he
 was worthy, by his desert, to be vicar-general
 of the universe. That minister seemed to be no
 less in his master's good graces: He received,
 soon after the sitting of the parliament, the title
 of earl of Essex, and was installed knight of the
 garter.

THERE remained only one religious order in
 England; the knights of St. John of Jerusalem,
 or the knights of Malta, as they are commonly
 called. This order, partly ecclesiastical, partly
 military, had, by their valor, done great service
 to Christendom; and had very much retarded,
 at Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta, the rapid
 progress of the barbarians. During the general
 surrender of the religious houses in England, they

had exerted their spirit , and had obstinately refused to yield up their revenues to the king ; and Henry , who would endure no society that professed obedience to the pope , was obliged to have recourse to parliament for the dissolution of this order. Their revenues were large ; and formed an addition nowise contemptible to the many acquisitions , which the king had already made. But he had very ill husbanded the great revenue acquired by the plunder of the church : His profuse generosity dissipated faster than his rapacity could supply ; and the parliament was surpris'd this session to find a demand made upon them of four - tenths , and a subsidy of one shilling in the pound during two years : So ill were the public expectations answered , that the crown was never more to require any supply from the people. The commons , though lavish of their liberty , and of the blood of their fellow - subjects , were extremely frugal of their money ; and it was not without difficulty so small a grant could be obtained by this absolute and dreaded monarch. The convocation gave the king four shillings in the pound to be levied in two years. The pretext for these grants was the great expence , which Henry had undergone for the defence of the realm , in building forts along the sea - coast , and in equipping a navy. As he had at present no ally on the continent , in whom he reposed much confidence , he relied only on his domestic strength , and was on that account obliged to be

C H A P. XXXII.

1540.

C H A P. more expensive in his preparations against the
 XXXII. danger of an invasion.

1540.

Fall of
 Cromwel.

THE king's favor to Cromwel, and his acquiescence in the marriage with Anne of Cleves, were both of them deceitful appearances: His aversion to the queen secretly increased every day: and having at last broken all restraint, it prompted him at once to seek the dissolution of a marriage so odious to him, and to involve his minister in ruin, who had been the innocent author of it. The fall of Cromwel was hastened by other causes. All the nobility hated a man, who, being of such low extraction, had not only mounted above them by his station of vicar-general, but had engrossed many of the other considerable offices of the crown: Besides enjoying that commission, which gave him a high, and almost absolute authority over the clergy, and even over the laity, he was privy seal, chamberlain, and master of the wards: He had also obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had ever been conferred only on men of illustrious families, and which seemed to be profaned by its being communicated to so mean a person. The people were averse to him, as the supposed author of the violence on the monasteries; establishments, which were still revered and beloved by the commonalty. The catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion: The protestants, observing his exterior concurrence with all the persecutions exercised against them, were inclined to bear him as little

favor; and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. And the king, who found, that great clamors had on all hands arisen against the administration, was not displeased to throw on Cromwel the load of public hatred; and he hoped, by making so easy a sacrifice, to regain the affections of his subjects.

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1540.

BUT there was another cause, which suddenly set all these motives in action, and brought about an unexpected revolution in the ministry. The king had fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and being determined to gratify this new passion, he could find no expedient, but, by procuring a divorce from his present consort, to raise Catherine to his bed and throne. The duke, who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwel, made the same use of her insinuations to ruin this minister, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's against Wolsey: And when all engines were prepared, he obtained a commission from the king, to arrest Cromwel at the council-table, on an accusation of high treason, and to commit him to the Tower. Immediately after, a bill of attainder was framed against him; and the house of peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death a man, whom, a few days before, they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the universe. The house of commons passed the bill, though not without some opposition. Cromwel was accused of heresy and treason; but the proofs of his treasonable

C H A P. practices are utterly improbable, and even absolute-
 XXXII. ly ridiculous ¹⁹. The only circumstance of his
 1540. conduct, by which he seems to have merited this
 fate, was his being the instrument of the king's
 tyranny, in conducting like iniquitous bills, in
 the preceding session, against the countess of
 Salisbury and others.

CROMWEL endeavoured to soften the king by
 the most humble supplications; but all to no pur-
 pose: It was not the practice of that prince to
 ruin his ministers and favorites by halves; and
 though the unhappy prisoner once wrote to him
 in so moving a strain as even to draw tears from
 his eyes, he hardened himself against all move-
 ments of pity, and refused his pardon. The
 conclusion of Cromwel's letter ran in these words;
 " I, a most woful prisoner, am ready to submit
 " to death when it shall please God and your
 " majesty; and yet the frail flesh incites me to
 " call to your grace for mercy and pardon of
 " mine offences. Written at the Tower with
 " the heavy heart and trembling hand of your
 " highness's most miserable prisoner and poor
 " slave, Thomas Cromwel. " And a little below,
 " Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy,
 " mercy ²⁰. " When brought to the place of
 execution, he avoided all earnest protestations of
 his innocence, and all complaints against the
 sentence pronounced upon him. He knew, that
 Henry would resent on his son those symptoms

28th July.
 His execu-
 tion.

¹⁹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 278.

²⁰ Ibid. vol. i. p. 281, 282.

of opposition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, industry, and abilities; worthy of a better master and of a better fate. Though raised to the summit of power from a low origin, he betrayed no insolence or contempt towards his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations, which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to any one. He had served as a private sentinel in the Italian wars; when he received some good offices from a Lucques merchant, who had entirely forgotten his person, as well as the service, which he had rendered him. Cromwel, in his grandeur, happened, at London, to cast his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty, by misfortunes. He immediately sent for him, reminded him of their ancient friendship, and by his grateful assistance, reinstated him in his former prosperity and opulence²¹.

THE measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves, were carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwel. The house of peers, in conjunction with the commons, applied to the king by petition, desiring that he would allow his marriage to be examined; and orders were immediately given to lay the matter before the convocation. Anne had formerly been contracted by her father to the duke of Lorraine; but she, as well as the duke, were at that time

King's divorce from Anne of Cleves.

²¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 172.

C H A P. under age, and the contract had been afterwards
 XXXII. annulled by consent of both parties. The king,
 1540. however, pleaded this pre-contract as a ground
 of divorce; and he added two reasons more,
 which may seem a little extraordinary; that,
 when he espoused Anne he had not *inwardly* given
 his consent, and that he had not thought proper
 to consummate the marriage. The convocation
 was satisfied with these reasons, and solemnly
 annulled the marriage between the king and queen:
 The parliament ratified the decision of the
 clergy²²; and the sentence was soon after notified
 to the princefs.

ANNE was blest with a happy insensibility of
 temper, even in the points which the most nearly
 affect her sex; and the king's aversion towards
 her, as well as his prosecution of the divorce,
 had never given her the least uneasiness. She
 willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation
 with him; and when he offered to adopt her as
 his sister, to give her place next the queen and
 his own daughter, and to make a settlement of
 three thousand pounds a year upon her; she
 accepted of the conditions, and gave her consent
 to the divorce²³. She even wrote to her brother
 (for her father was now dead), that she had been
 very well used in England, and desired him to
 live on good terms with the king. The only
 instance of pride which she betrayed was, that
 she refused to return to her own country after the

²² See note [M] at the end of the volume.

²³ Herbert, p. 458, 459.

affront which she had received; and she lived and died in England.

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1540.

NOTWITHSTANDING Anne's moderation, this incident produced a great coldness between the king and the German princes; but as the situation of Europe was now much altered, Henry was the more indifferent about their resentment. The close intimacy, which had taken place between Francis and Charles, had subsisted during a very short time: The dissimilarity of their characters soon renewed, with greater violence than ever, their former jealousy and hatred. While Charles remained at Paris, Francis had been imprudently engaged, by his open temper, and by that satisfaction, which a noble mind naturally feels in performing generous actions, to make in confidence some dangerous discoveries to that interested monarch; and having now lost all suspicion of his rival, he hoped that the emperor and he, supporting each other, might neglect every other alliance. He not only communicated to his guest the state of his negotiations with Sultan Solyman and the Venetians: He also laid open the solicitations, which he had received from the court of England, to enter into a confederacy against him²⁴. Charles had no sooner reached his own dominions, than he showed himself unworthy of the friendly reception which he had met with. He absolutely refused to fulfil his promise, and put the duke of Orleans in possession of the

²⁴ Pere Daniel. Du Tillet.

C H A P. Milanese : He informed Solyman and the senate
 XXXII. of Venice of the treatment , which they had
 1540. received from their ally : and he took care that
 Henry should not be ignorant how readily Francis
 had abandoned his ancient friend to whom he
 owed such important obligations , and had sacri-
 ficed him to a new confederate : He even poisoned
 and misrepresented many things , which the unsus-
 pecting heart of the French monarch had disclosed
 to him. Had Henry possessed true judgment and
 generosity , this incident alone had been sufficient
 to guide him in the choice of his ally. But his
 domineering pride carried him immediately to
 renounce the friendship of Francis , who had so
 unexpectedly given the preference to the emperor :
 And as Charles invited him to a renewal of
 ancient amity , he willingly accepted of the offer ;
 and thinking himself secure in this alliance , he
 neglected the friendship both of France and of
 the German princes.

8th Aug.
 His mar-
 riage with
 Catherine
 Howard.

THE new turn , which Henry had taken with
 regard to foreign affairs , was extremely agreeable
 to his catholic subjects ; and as it had perhaps
 contributed , among other reasons , to the ruin of
 Cromwel , it made them entertain hopes of a final
 prevalence over their antagonists. The marriage
 of the king with Catherine Howard , which fol-
 lowed soon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves ,
 was also regarded as a favorable incident to their
 party ; and the subsequent events corresponded to
 their expectations. The king's councils being
 now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner , a furious

persecution commenced against the protestants; and the law of the six articles was executed with rigor. Dr. Barnes, who had been the cause of Lambert's execution, felt, in his turn, the severity of the persecuting spirit; and, by a bill, which passed in parliament, he was, without trial, condemned to the flames, together with Jerome and Gerrard. He discussed theological questions even at the stake; and as the dispute between him and the sheriff, turned upon the invocation of saints, he said, that he doubted whether the saints could pray for us; but if they could, he hoped, in half an hour, to be praying for the sheriff and all the spectators. He next entreated the sheriff to carry to the king his dying request, which he fondly imagined would have authority with that monarch, who had sent him to the stake. The purport of his request was, that Henry, besides repressing superstitious ceremonies, should be extremely vigilant in preventing fornication and common swearing²⁵.

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1540.

WHILE Henry was exerting this violence against the protestants, he spared not the catholics who denied his supremacy; and a foreigner, at that time in England, had reason to say, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged²⁶. The king even displayed, in an ostentatious manner, this tyrannical impartiality, which

²⁵ Burnet, vol. i. p. 298. Fox. ²⁶ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 529.

C H A P. reduced both parties to subjection, and infused
 XXXII. terror into every breast. Barnes, Gerrard, and
 1540. Jerome had been carried to the place of execution
 on three hurdles; and along with them there
 was placed on each hurdle a catholic, who was
 also executed for his religion. These catholics
 were Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, who de-
 clared, that the most grievous part of their pu-
 nishment was the being coupled to such heretic-
 al miscreants as suffered with them.²⁷

THOUGH the spirit of the English seemed to
 be totally sunk under the despotic power of
 Henry, there appeared some symptoms of dis-
 content: An inconsiderable rebellion broke out
 in Yorkshire, headed by Sir John Nevil; but
 it was soon suppressed, and Nevil, with other
 ringleaders, was executed. The rebels were sup-
 posed to have been instigated by the intrigues
 of cardinal Pole; and the king was instantly
 determined to make the countess of Salisbury,
 who already lay under sentence of death, suffer
 27th May. for her son's offences. He ordered her to be
 carried to execution; and this venerable matron
 maintained still, in these distressful circumstances,
 the spirit of that long race of monarchs, from
 whom she was descended²⁸. She refused to lay
 her head on the block, or submit to a sentence
 where she had received no trial. She told the
 executioner, that, if he would have her head,
 he must win it the best way he could: And

²⁷ Saundera, de Schism. Angl. ²⁸ Herbert, p. 468.

thus, shaking her venerable grey locks, she ran about the scaffold; and the executioner followed her with his ax, aiming many fruitless blows at her neck, before he was able to give the fatal stroke. Thus perished the last of the line of Plantagenet, which, with great glory, but still greater crimes and misfortunes, had governed England for the space of three hundred years. Lord Leonard Grey, a man who had formerly rendered service to the crown, was also beheaded for treason, soon after the countess of Salisbury. We know little concerning the grounds of his prosecution.

THE insurrection in the North engaged Henry to make a progress thither, in order to quiet the minds of his people, to reconcile them to his government, and to abolish the ancient superstitions, to which those parts were much addicted. He had also another motive for this journey: He purposed to have a conference at York with his nephew the king of Scotland, and, if possible, to cement a close and indissoluble union with that kingdom.

THE same spirit of religious innovation, which had seized other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun, before this period, to excite the same jealousies, fears, and persecutions. About the year 1527, Patric Hamilton, a young man of a noble family, having been created abbot of Ferne, was sent abroad for his education; but had fallen into company with some reformers, and he returned into his

C H A P.
XXXII.

1541.
State of
affairs in
Scotland.

C H A P. own country very ill disposed towards that
 XXXII. church, of which his birth and his merit entitled
 1541. him to attain the highest dignities. The fervor
 of youth and his zeal for novelty made it impossible for him to conceal his sentiments; and Campbel, prior of the Dominicans, who, under color of friendship and a sympathy in opinion, had insinuated himself into his confidence, accused him before Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews. Hamilton was invited to St. Andrews, in order to maintain, with some of the clergy, a dispute concerning the controverted points; and after much reasoning with regard to justification, free-will, original sin, and other topics of that nature, the conference ended with their condemning Hamilton to be burned for his errors. The young man, who had been deaf to the insinuations of ambition, was less likely to be shaken with the fears of death; while he proposed to himself, both the glory of bearing testimony to the truth, and the immediate reward attending his martyrdom. The people, who compassionated his youth, his virtue, and his noble birth, were much moved at the constancy of his end; and an incident, which soon followed, still more confirmed them in their favorable sentiments towards him. He had cited Campbel, who still insulted him at the stake, to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ; and as that persecutor, either astonished with these events, or overcome with remorse, or, perhaps, seized casually with a distemper, soon after lost his senses, and fell
 into

into a fever, of which he died; the people regarded Hamilton as a prophet, as well as a martyr ²⁹.

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1541.

AMONG the disciples converted by Hamilton, was one friar Forest, who became a zealous preacher; and who, though he did not openly discover his sentiments, was suspected to lean towards the new opinions. His diocesan, the bishop of Dunkeld, enjoined him, when he met with a good epistle or good gospel, which favored the liberties of holy church, to preach on it, and let the rest alone. Forest replied, that he had read both Old and New Testament, and had not found an ill epistle, or ill gospel in any part of them. The extreme attachment to the Scriptures was regarded in those days as a sure characteristic of heresy; and Forest was soon after brought to trial, and condemned to the flames. While the priests were deliberating on the place of his execution, a bystander advised them to burn him in a cellar: For that the smoke of Mr. Patric Hamilton had infected all those on whom it blew ³⁰.

THE clergy were at that time reduced to great difficulties not only in Scotland, but all over Europe. As the reformers aimed at a total subversion of ancient establishments, which they represented as idolatrous, impious, detestable; the priests, who found both their honors and

²⁹ Spotswood's Hist. of the church of Scotland, p. 62.

³⁰ Spotswood, p. 65.

C H A P. properties at stake, thought that they had a right
 XXXII. to resist, by every expedient, these dangerous
 1541. invaders, and that the same simple principles of
 equity, which justified a man in killing a pirate
 or a robber, would acquit them for the execution
 of such heretics. A toleration, though it is never
 acceptable to ecclesiastics, might, they said, be
 admitted in other cases; but seemed an absurdity,
 where fundamentals were shaken, and where the
 possessions, and even the existence of the estab-
 lished clergy were brought in danger. But though
 the church was thus carried by policy, as well as
 inclination, to kindle the fires of persecution,
 they found the success of this remedy very pre-
 carious, and observed, that the enthusiastic zeal
 of the reformers, inflamed by punishment, was
 apt to prove contagious on the compassionate
 minds of the spectators. The new doctrine,
 amidst all the dangers, to which it was exposed,
 secretly spread itself every where; and the minds
 of men were gradually disposed to a revolution
 in religion.

BUT the most dangerous symptom for the
 clergy in Scotland was, that the nobility, from
 the example of England, had cast a wishful eye
 on the church revenues, and hoped, if a refor-
 mation took place, to enrich themselves by the
 plunder of the ecclesiastics. James himself, who
 was very poor, and was somewhat inclined to
 magnificence, particularly in building, had been
 swayed by like motives; and began to threaten
 the clergy with the same fate that had attended

them in the neighbouring country. Henry also never ceased exhorting his nephew to imitate his example; and being moved both by the pride of making profelytes, and the prospect of security, should Scotland embrace a close union with him, he solicited the king of Scots to meet him at York; and he obtained a promise to that purpose.

THE ecclesiastics were alarmed at this resolution of James, and they employed every expedient, in order to prevent the execution of it. They represented the danger of innovation; the pernicious consequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himself into the hands of the English, his hereditary enemies; the dependence on them which must ensue upon his losing the friendship of France, and of all foreign powers. To these considerations, they added the prospect of immediate interest, by which they found the king to be much governed: They offered him a present gratuity of fifty thousand pounds: They promised him, that the church should always be ready to contribute to his supply: And they pointed out to him, the confiscation of heretics, as the means of filling his exchequer, and of adding a hundred thousand pounds a year to the crown revenues³¹. The insinuations of his new queen, to whom youth, beauty, and address had given a powerful influence over him, seconded all these reasons;

³¹ Buchanan, lib. xiv. Drummond in James. v. Piscotie, ibid. Knox.

C H A P. and James was at last engaged, first to delay his
 XXXII. journey, then to send excuses to the king of Eng-
 1541. land, who had already come to York, in order
 to be present at the interview ³².

HENRY, vexed with the disappointment, and enraged at the affront, vowed vengeance against his nephew; and he began, by permitting piracies at sea, and incursions at land, to put his threats in execution. But he received soon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more sensible, and which touched him in a point where he always showed an extreme delicacy. He had thought himself very happy in his new marriage: The agreeable person and disposition of Catherine had entirely captivated his affections, and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even publicly, in his chapel, returned solemn thanks to heaven for the felicity which the conjugal state afforded him; and he directed the bishop of Lincoln to compose a form of prayer for that purpose. But the queen's conduct very little merited this tenderness: One Lascelles brought intelligence of her dissolute life to Cranmer; and told him, that his sister, formerly

³² Henry had sent some books, richly ornamented, to his nephew, who, as soon as he saw by the titles, that they had a tendency to defend the new doctrines, threw them into the fire, in the presence of the person who brought them: Adding, it was better he should destroy them, than they him. See Epist. Reginald. Pole, pars 1. p. 172.

a servant in the family of the old dutchess of Norfolk, with whom Catherine was educated, had given him a particular account of her licentious manners. Derham and Mannoc, both of them servants to the dutchess, had been admitted to her bed; and she had even taken little care to conceal her shame from the other servants of the family. The primate, struck with this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or to discover, communicated the matter to the earl of Hertford and to the chancellor. They agreed, that the matter should by no means be buried in silence; and the archbishop himself seemed the most proper person to disclose it to the king. Cranmer, unwilling to speak on so delicate a subject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was infinitely astonished at the intelligence. So confident was he of the fidelity of his consort, that at first he gave no credit to the information; and he said to the privy-seal, to Lord Russel, high admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Wriothesley, that he regarded the whole as a falsehood. Cranmer was now in a very perilous situation; and had not full proof been found, certain and inevitable destruction hung over him. The king's impatience, however, and jealousy prompted him to search the matter to the bottom: The privy-seal was ordered to examine Lascelles, who persisted in the information he had given; and still appealed to his sister's testimony. That nobleman next made a journey under pretence of hunting, and

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1541.

Discovery of
the queen's
dissolute
life.

C H A P. XXXII. went to Suffex, where the woman at that time resided: He found her both constant in her former intelligence, and particular as to the facts; and the whole bore but too much the face of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were arrested at the same time, and examined by the chancellor, made the queen's guilt entirely certain by their confession; and discovered other particulars, which redounded still more to her dishonor. Three maids of the family were admitted into her secrets, and some of them had even passed the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the king, who was so deeply affected, that he remained a long time speechless, and at last burst into tears. He found to his surprise, that his great skill in distinguishing a true maid, of which he boasted in the case of Anne of Cleves, had failed him in that of his present consort. The queen, being next questioned, denied her guilt; but when informed, that a full discovery was made, she confessed, that she had been criminal before marriage; and only insisted, that she had never been false to the king's bed. But as there was evidence, that one Colepepper had passed the night with her alone since her marriage; and as it appeared, that she had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her service, she seemed to deserve little credit in this asseveration; and the king, besides, was not of a humor to make any difference between these degrees of guilt.

HENRY found, that he could not, by any means,

so fully or expeditiously satiate his vengeance on all these criminals as by assembling a parliament, the usual instrument of his tyranny. The two houses, having received the queen's confession, made an address to the king. They entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were subject; but to consider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and from these views to derive a subject of consolation. They desired leave to pass a bill of attainder against the queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his assent to this bill, not in person, which would renew his vexation, and might endanger his health, but by commissioners appointed for that purpose. And as there was a law in force, making it treason to speak ill of the queen, as well as of the king, they craved his royal pardon, if any of them should, on the present occasion, have transgressed any part of the statute.

HAVING obtained a gracious answer to these requests, the parliament proceeded to vote a bill of attainder for treason against the queen, and the viscountess of Rocheford, who had conducted her secret amours; and in this bill Colepepper, and Derham, were also comprehended. At the same time they passed a bill of attainder for misprision of treason against the old dutchess of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother; her uncle, lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the countess of Bridgewater, and nine persons more; because they knew the queen's vicious

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1542.

course of life before her marriage, and had concealed it. This was an effect of Henry's usual extravagance; to expect that parents should so far forget the ties of natural affection, and the sentiments of shame and decency, as to reveal to him the most secret disorders of their family. He himself seems to have been sensible of the cruelty of this proceeding: For he pardoned the dutchess of Norfolk, and most of the others, condemned for misprision of treason.

HOWEVER, to secure himself for the future, as well as his successors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the parliament to pass a law somewhat extraordinary. It was enacted, that any one who knew, or vehemently suspected any guilt in the queen, might, within twenty days, disclose it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law, against defaming the queen; but prohibiting every one, at the same time, from spreading the matter abroad, or even privately whispering it to others: It was also enacted, that, if the king married any woman, who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason, if she did not previously reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this singular clause, and said, that the king must henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of the statute³³. After all these laws were passed, the queen was

³³ Burnet, vol. i. p. 314.

beheaded on Tower-hill, together with lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner suitable to their dissolute life; and as lady Rocheford was known to be the chief instrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, she died unpitied; and men were farther confirmed, by the discovery of this woman's guilt, in the favorable sentiments, which they had entertained of that unfortunate queen.

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THE king made no demand of any subsidy from this parliament; but he found means of enriching his exchequer from another quarter: He took farther steps towards the dissolution of colleges, hospitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practising on the presidents and governors, to make a surrender of their revenues to the king; and they had been successful with eight of them. But there was an obstacle to their farther progress: It had been provided, by the local statutes of most of these foundations, that no president, or any number of fellows, could consent to such a deed without the unanimous vote of all the fellows; and this vote was not easily obtained. All such statutes were annulled by parliament; and the revenues of these houses were now exposed to the rapacity of the king and his favorites³⁴. The church had been so long their prey, that nobody was surprised at any new inroads made upon her. From the regular, Henry now proceeded to make

³⁴ See note [N] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. devastations on the secular clergy. He extorted
 XXXII. from many of the bishops a surrender of chapter
 1542. lands; and by this device he pillaged the sees of
 Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched
 his greedy parasites and flatterers with their spoils.

Ecclesiastic
 affairs.

THE clergy have been commonly so fortunate
 as to make a concern for their temporal interests
 go hand in hand with a jealousy for orthodoxy;
 and both these passions be regarded, by the
 people, ignorant and superstitious, as proofs of
 zeal for religion: But the violent and headstrong
 character of Henry now disjoined these objects.
 His rapacity was gratified by plundering the
 church, his bigotry and arrogance by persecuting
 heretics. Though he engaged the parliament to
 mitigate the penalties of the six articles, so far as
 regards the marriage of priests, which was now
 only subjected to a forfeiture of goods, chattels,
 and lands during life; he was still equally bent
 on maintaining a rigid purity in speculative prin-
 ciples. He had appointed a commission, con-
 sisting of the two archbishops and several bishops
 of both provinces, together with a considerable
 number of doctors of divinity; and by virtue of
 his ecclesiastical supremacy he had given them in
 charge to chuse a religion for his people. Before
 the commissioners had made any progress in this
 arduous undertaking, the parliament, in 1541,
 had passed a law, by which they ratified all the
 tenets, which these divines should thereafter estab-
 lish with the king's consent: And they were not
 ashamed of thus expressly declaring that they took

their religion upon trust, and had no other rule, in spiritual as well as temporal concerns, than the arbitrary will of their master. There is only one clause of the statute, which may seem at first sight to favor somewhat of the spirit of liberty : It was enacted that the ecclesiastical commissioners should establish nothing repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm. But in reality this proviso was inserted by the king, to serve his own purposes. By introducing a confusion and contradiction into the laws, he became more master of every one's life and property. And as the ancient independence of the church still gave him jealousy, he was well pleased, under cover of such a clause, to introduce appeals from the spiritual to the civil courts. It was for a like reason, that he would never promulgate a body of canon law; and he encouraged the judges on all occasions to interpose in ecclesiastical causes, wherever they thought the law of royal prerogative concerned. A happy innovation; though at first invented for arbitrary purposes!

THE king, armed by the authority of parliament, or rather by their acknowledgment of that spiritual supremacy, which he believed inherent in him, employed his commissioners to select a system of tenets for the assent and belief of the nation. A small volume was soon after published, called, the *Institution of a Christian Man*, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the standard of orthodoxy. All the delicate points of justification, faith, free-will, good

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1542.

C H A P. works, and grace, are there defined, with a
 XXXII. leaning towards the opinion of the reformers :
 1542. The sacraments, which a few years before were
 only allowed to be three, were now increased to
 the number of seven, conformable to the senti-
 ments of the catholics. The king's caprice is
 discernable throughout the whole; and the book
 is in reality to be regarded as his composition.
 For Henry, while he made his opinion a rule
 for the nation, would tie his own hands by no
 canon or authority, not even by any which he
 himself had formerly established.

THE people had occasion soon after to see a
 farther instance of the king's inconstancy. He
 was not long satisfied with his Institution of a
 Christian Man: He ordered a new book to be
 composed, called, the *Erudition of a Christian Man*;
 and without asking the assent of the convocation,
 he published, by his own authority, and that of
 the parliament, this new model of orthodoxy. It
 differs from the Institution³⁵; but the king was
 no less positive in his new creed than he had
 been in the old; and he required the belief of the
 nation to veer about at his signal. In both these
 compositions, he was particularly careful to in-
 culcate the doctrine of passive obedience; and he
 was equally careful to retain the nation in the
 practice.

WHILE the king was spreading his own books
 among the people, he seems to have been ex-

³⁵ Collier, vol. ii. p. 190.

tremely perplexed, as were also the clergy, what course to take with the Scriptures. A review had been made by the synod of the new translation of the Bible; and Gardiner had proposed, that, instead of employing English expressions throughout, several Latin words should still be preserved; because they contained, as he pretended, such peculiar energy and significance, that they had no correspondent terms in the vulgar tongue ³⁶. Among these were *ecclesia*, *pœnitentia*, *pontifex*, *contritus*, *holocausta*, *sacramentum*, *elementa*, *ceremonia*, *mysterium*, *presbyter*, *sacrificium*, *humilitas*, *satisfactio*, *peccatum*, *gratia*, *hostia*, *charitas*, &c. But as this mixture would have appeared extremely barbarous, and was plainly calculated for no other purpose than to retain the people in their ancient ignorance, the proposal was rejected. The knowledge of the people, however, at least their disputative turn, seemed to be an inconvenience still more dangerous; and the king and parliament ³⁷, soon after the publication of the Scriptures, retracted the concession, which they had formerly made; and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants from perusing them ³⁸.

³⁶ Burnet, vol. i. p. 315.

³⁷ Which met on the 22d of January, 1543.

³⁸ 33 Hen. VIII. c. 1. The reading of the Bible, however, could not at that time, have much effect in England, where so few persons had learned to read. There were but 500 copies printed of this first authorized edition of the Bible; a book of which there are now several millions of copies in the kingdom.

C H A P. XXXII. 1542. Even that liberty was not granted, without an apparent hesitation, and a dread of the consequences: These persons were allowed to read, *so it be done quietly and with good order.* And the preamble to the act sets forth, "that many seditious and ignorant persons had abused the liberty granted them of reading the Bible, and that great diversity of opinion, animosities, tumults, and schisms had been occasioned by perverting the sense of the Scriptures." It seemed very difficult to reconcile the king's model for uniformity, with the permission of free inquiry.

THE mass-book also passed under the king's revifal; and little alteration was as yet made in it: Some doubtful or fictitious saints only were struck out; and the name of the pope was erased. This latter precaution was likewise used with regard to every new book that was printed, or even old book that was fold. The word, Pope, was carefully omitted or blotted out³⁹; as if that precaution could abolish the term from the language, or as if such a persecution of it did not rather imprint it more strongly in the memory of the people.

THE king took care about this time to clear the churches from another abuse, which had creeped into them. Plays, interludes, and farces were there often acted in derision of the former superstitions; and the reverence of the multitude for ancient principles and modes of worship was

³⁹ Parliamentary history, vol. iii. p. 113.

thereby gradually effaced ⁴⁰. We do not hear C H A P.
that the catholics attempted to retaliate by em- XXXII.
ploying this powerful engine against their adver- 1542.
saries, or endeavoured by like arts to expose
that fanatical spirit, by which, it appears, the
reformers were frequently actuated. Perhaps the
people were not disposed to relish a jest on that
side: Perhaps the greater simplicity and the more
spiritual abstract worship of the protestants, gave
less hold to ridicule, which is commonly founded
on sensible representations. It was, therefore, a
very agreeable concession, which the king made
to the catholic party, to suppress entirely these
religious comedies.

THUS Henry labored incessantly, by arguments,
creeds, and penal statutes, to bring his subjects
to an uniformity in their religious sentiments:
But as he entered, himself, with the greatest
earnestness, into all those scholastic disputes, he
encouraged the people, by his example, to apply
themselves to the study of theology; and it was
in vain afterwards to expect, however present
fear might restrain their tongues or pens, that
they would cordially agree in any set of tenets or
opinions prescribed to them.

⁴⁰ Burnet, vol. i. p. 218.

C H A P. XXXIII.

War with Scotland — Victory of Solway — Death of James V. — Treaty with Scotland — New rupture — Rupture with France — A Parliament — Affairs of Scotland — A Parliament — Campaign in France — A Parliament — Peace with France and Scotland — Persecutions — Execution of the earl of Surrey — Attainder of the duke of Norfolk — Death of the king — His character — Miscellaneous transactions.

C H A P. **H**ENRY, being determined to avenge himself on the king of Scots for flighting the advances, which he had made him, would gladly have obtained a supply from parliament, in order to prosecute that enterprize; but as he did not think it prudent to discover his intentions, that assembly, conformably to their frugal maxims, would understand no hints; and the king was disappointed in his expectations. He continued, however, to make preparations for war; and as soon as he thought himself in a condition to invade Scotland, he published a manifesto, by which he endeavoured to justify hostilities. He complained of James's breach of word, in declining the promised interview; which was the real ground of the quarrel¹:

¹ Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond in James the Fifth.
But

But in order to give a more specious coloring to the enterprize, he mentioned other injuries; namely, that his nephew had granted protection to some English rebels and fugitives, and had detained some territory, which, Henry pretended, belonged to England. He even revived the old claim to the vassalage of Scotland, and he summoned James to do homage to him as his liege lord and superior. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the scourge of the Scots, to command in the war; and though James sent the bishop of Aberdeen, and Sir James Learmont of Darfay, to appease his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation. While Norfolk, was assembling his army at Newcastle, Sir Robert Bowes, attended by Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Ralph Evers, Sir Brian Latoun, and others, made an incursion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh, with an intention of pillaging and destroying that town. The earl of Angus, and George Douglas, his brother, who had been many years banished their country, and had subsisted by Henry's bounty, joined the English army in this incursion; and the forces, commanded by Bowes, exceeded four thousand men. James had not been negligent in his preparations for defence, and had posted a considerable body, under the command of the earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his vassals, was hastening to join Huntley, when he met with the English army; and an action immediately ensued. During the engagement, 24th Aug.

C H A P.

XXXIII.

1542.

C H A P. the forces under Huntley began to appear; and
 XXXIII. the English, afraid of being furrounded and over-
 1542. powered, took to flight, and were pursued by
 the enemy. Evers, Latoun, and some other
 persons of distinction, were taken prisoners. A
 few only of small note fell in the skirmish².

THE duke of Norfolk, meanwhile, began to
 move from his camp at Newcastle; and being at-
 tended by the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cum-
 berland, Surrey, Hertford, Rutland, with many
 others of the nobility, he advanced to the borders.
 His forces amounted to above twenty thousand
 men; and it required the utmost efforts of Scot-
 land to resist such a formidable armament. James
 had assembled his whole military force at Fala
 and Sautrey, and was ready to advance as soon
 as he should be informed of Norfolk's invading
 his kingdom. The English passed the Tweed at
 Berwic, and marched along the banks of the river
 as far as Kelso; but hearing that James had col-
 lected near thirty thousand men, they repassed
 the river at that village, and retreated into their
 own country³. The king of Scots, inflamed
 with a desire of military glory, and of revenge
 on his invaders, gave the signal for pursuing
 them, and carrying the war into England. He
 was surprised to find, that his nobility, who were
 in general disaffected on account of the preference
 which he had given to the clergy, opposed this
 resolution, and refused to attend him in his pro-

² Buchanan, lib. 14. ³ Ibid.

jected enterprife. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but still resolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to make an impreſſion on the enemy. He ſent ten thouſand men to the weſtern borders, who entered England at Solway frith; and he himſelf followed them at a ſmall diſtance, ready to join them upon occaſion. Diſgusted, however, at the refractory diſpoſition of his nobles, he ſent a meſſage to the army, depriving lord Maxwell, their general, of his commiſſion, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favorite. The army was extremely diſgusted with this alteration, and was ready to diſband; when a ſmall body of Engliſh appeared, not exceeding 500 men, under the command of Dacres and Muſgrave. A panic ſeized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, and were purſued by the enemy. Few were killed in this rout; for it was no action; but a great many were taken priſoners, and ſome of the principal nobility: Among theſe, the earls of Caſſilis and Glencairne; the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, Grey, who were all ſent to London, and given in cuſtody to different noblemen.

C H A P.

XXXIII.

1542.

24th Nov.

Victory at
Solway.

THE king of Scots, hearing of this diſaſter, was aſtoniſhed; and being naturally of a melancholic diſpoſition, as well as endowed with a high ſpirit, he loſt all command of his temper on this diſmal occaſion. Rage againſt his nobility, who, he believed, had betrayed him; ſhame for

C H A P.
XXXIII.

14th Dec.
Death of
James the
Fifth.

a defeat by such unequal numbers; regret for the past, fear of the future; all these passions so wrought upon him, that he would admit of no consolation, but abandoned himself wholly to despair. His body was wasted by sympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no issue living; and hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked whether she had brought him a male or female child? Being told, the latter; he turned himself in his bed; "The crown came with a woman," said he, "and it will go with one: Many miseries await this poor kingdom: Henry will make it his own either by force of arms or by marriage." A few days after, he expired, in the flower of his age; a prince of considerable virtues and talents; well fitted, by his vigilance and personal courage, for repressing those disorders, to which his kingdom, during that age, was so much exposed. He executed justice with impartiality and rigor; but as he supported the commonalty and the church against the rapine of the nobility, he escaped not the hatred of that order. The protestants also, whom he opposed, have endeavoured to throw many stains on his memory; but have not been able to fix any considerable imputation upon him*.

1543.

HENRY was no sooner informed of his victory and of the death of his nephew, than he projected, as James had foreseen, the scheme of

* See note [O] at the end of the volume.

uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his son, Edward, to the heiress of that kingdom⁵. He called together the Scottish nobles, who were his prisoners; and after reproaching them, in severe terms, for their pretended breach of treaty, he began to soften his tone, and proposed to them this expedient, by which, he hoped, those disorders, so prejudicial to both states, would for the future be prevented. He offered to bestow on them their liberty without ransom; and only required of them engagements to favor the marriage of the prince of Wales with their young mistress. They were easily prevailed on to give their assent to a proposal, which seemed so natural, and so advantageous to both kingdoms; and being conducted to Newcastle, they delivered to the duke of Norfolk hostages for their return, in case the intended nuptials were not completed: And they thence proceeded to Scotland, where they found affairs in some confusion.

THE pope, observing his authority in Scotland to be in danger from the spreading of the new opinions, had bestowed on Beaton, the primate, the dignity of cardinal, in order to confer more influence upon him; and that prelate had long been regarded as prime minister to James, and as the head of that party, which defended the ancient privileges and property of the ecclesiastics. Upon the death of his master, this man, apprehensive of the consequences both to his party

⁵ Stowe, p. 584. Herbert. Burnet. Buchanan.

C H A P.
XXXIII.
1543.

and to himself, endeavoured to keep possession of power; and for that purpose, he is accused of executing a deed, which required a high degree of temerity. He forged, it is said, a will for the king, appointing himself, and three noblemen more, regents of the kingdom during the minority of the infant princess⁶: At least, for historians are not well agreed in the circumstances of the fact, he had read to James a paper of that import, to which that monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had given an imperfect assent and approbation⁷. By virtue of this will, Beaton had put himself in possession of the government; and having united his interests with those of the queen-dowager, he obtained the consent of the convention of states, and excluded the pretensions of the earl of Arran.

JAMES earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, was next heir to the crown by his grandmother, daughter of James III.; and on that account seemed best entitled to possess that high office, into which the cardinal had intruded himself. The prospect also of his succession after a princess, who was in such tender infancy, procured him many partisans; and though his character indicated little spirit, activity, or ambition, a propensity, which he had discovered for the new opinions, had attached to him all the zealous promoters of

⁶ Sadler's Letters, p. 161. Spotswood, p. 71. Buchanan, lib. 15.

⁷ John Knox, History of the Reformation.

those innovations. By means of these adherents, joined to the vassals of his own family, he had been able to make opposition to the cardinal's administration; and the suspicion of Beaton's forgery, with the accession of the noblemen, who had been prisoners in England, assisted too by some money sent from London, was able to turn the balance in his favor. The earl of Angus and his brother, having taken the present opportunity of returning into their native country, opposed the cardinal with all the credit of that powerful family; and the majority of the convention had now embraced opposite interests to those which formerly prevailed. Arran was declared governor; the cardinal was committed to custody under the care of lord Seton; and a negociation was commenced with Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales. The following conditions were quickly agreed on; that the queen should remain in Scotland till she should be ten years of age; that she should then be sent to England to be educated; that six Scottish noblemen should immediately be delivered as hostages to Henry; and that the kingdom, notwithstanding its union with England, should still retain its laws and privileges^s. By means of these equitable conditions, the war between the nations, which had threatened Scotland with such dismal calamity,

C H A P.
XXXIII.
1543.

Treaty with
Scotland.

^s Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters.

C H A P. ties, seemed to be fully composed, and to be
 XXXIII. changed into perpetual concord and amity.

1543.

BUT the cardinal-primate, having prevailed on Seton to restore him to his liberty, was able, by his intrigues, to confound all these measures, which appeared so well concerted. He assembled the most considerable ecclesiastics; and having represented to them the imminent danger, to which their revenues and privileges were exposed, he persuaded them to collect privately from the clergy a large sum of money, by which, if intrusted to his management, he engaged to overturn the schemes of their enemies⁹. Besides the partisans, whom he acquired by pecuniary motives, he roused up the zeal of those, who were attached to the catholic worship; and he represented the union with England as the sure forerunner of ruin to the church and to the ancient religion. The national antipathy of the Scots to their southern neighbours was also an infallible engine, by which the cardinal wrought upon the people; and though the terror of Henry's arms, and their own inability to make resistance, had procured a temporary assent to the alliance and marriage proposed, the settled habits of the nation produced an extreme aversion to those measures. The English ambassador and his retinue received many insults from persons whom the cardinal had instigated to commit those violences, in hopes of bringing on a rupture: But Sadler prudently

⁹ Buchanan, lib. 15.

dissembled the matter; and waited patiently, till the day appointed for the delivery of the hostages. He then demanded of the regent the performance of that important article; but received for answer, that his authority was very precarious, that the nation had now taken a different impression, and that it was not in his power to compel any of the nobility to deliver themselves as hostages to the English. Sadler, foreseeing the consequence of this refusal, sent a summons to all those who had been prisoners in England, and required them to fulfil the promise, which they had given, of returning into custody. None of them showed so much sentiment of honor, as to fulfil their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassilis. Henry was so well pleased with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he not only received him graciously, but honored him with presents, gave him his liberty, and sent him back to Scotland, with his two brothers, whom he had left as hostages ¹⁰.

C H A P.
XXXIII.
1543.

THIS behaviour of the Scottish nobles, though it reflected dishonor on the nation, was not disagreeable to the cardinal, who foresaw, that all these persons would now be deeply interested to maintain their enmity and opposition to England. And as a war was soon expected with that kingdom, he found it necessary immediately to apply to France, and to crave the assistance of that ancient ally, during the present distresses of the

¹⁰ Buchanan, lib. 15.

C H A P. Scottish nation. Though the French king was
 XXXIII. fully sensible of his interest in supporting Scot-
 1543. land, a demand of aid could not have been made
 on him at a more unseasonable juncture. His
 pretensions on the Milanese, and his resentment
 against Charles, had engaged him in a war with
 that potentate; and having made great, though
 fruitless efforts during the preceding campaign,
 he was the more disabled at present from defend-
 ing his own dominions, much more from granting
 any succour to the Scots. Matthew Stuart, earl
 of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family,
 was at that time in the French court; and Francis,
 being informed, that he was engaged in ancient
 and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who
 had murdered his father, sent him over to his
 native country, as a support to the cardinal and
 the queen-mother: And he promised, that a
 supply of money, and, if necessary, even military
 succours, should soon be dispatched after him.
 Arran, the governor, seeing all these preparations
 against him, assembled his friends, and made an
 attempt to get the person of the infant queen
 into his custody; but being repulsed, he was
 obliged to come to an accommodation with his
 enemies, and to entrust that precious charge to
 four neutral persons, the heads of potent families,
 the Grahams, Ereskines, Lindseys, and Leving-
 stons. The arrival of Lenox, in the midst of
 these transactions, served to render the victory

of the French party over the English still more undisputable ¹¹. C H A P. XXXIII.

THE opposition, which Henry met with in Scotland from the French intrigues, excited his resentment, and farther confirmed the resolution, which he had already taken, of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with those of the emperor. He had other grounds of complaint against the French king; which, though not of great importance, yet being recent, were able to overbalance those great injuries, which he had formerly received from Charles. He pretended, that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in separating himself entirely from the see of Rome, and that he had broken his promise in that particular. He was dissatisfied, that James, his nephew, had been allowed to marry, first Magdalene of France, then a princess of the house of Guise; and he considered these alliances as pledges, which Francis gave of his intentions to support the Scots against the power of England ¹². He had been informed of some railleries, which the French king had thrown out against his conduct with regard to his wives. He was disgusted, that Francis, after so many obligations which he owed him, had sacrificed him to the emperor; and, in the confidence of friendship, had rashly revealed his secrets to that subtle and interested monarch. And he complained, that regular payments were never made of the sums due to him

1543.
Rupture
with
France.

¹¹ Buchanan, lib. 15. Drummond. ¹² Pere Daniel.

C H A P. by France, and of the pension, which had been
 XXXIII. stipulated. Impelled by all these motives, he
 1543. alienated himself from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who earnestly courted his alliance. This league, besides stipulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for invading France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions with an army, each of twenty-five thousand men; and to require that prince to pay Henry all the sums which he owed him, and to consign Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouane, and Ardres, as a security for the regular payment of his pension for the future: In case these conditions were rejected, the confederate princes agreed to challenge, for Henry, the crown of France, or, in default of it, the dutchies of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Guienne; for Charles, the dutchy of Burgundy, and some other territories¹³. That they might have a pretence for enforcing these claims, they sent a message to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with Sultan Solyman, and to make reparation for all the prejudice, which Christendom had sustained from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French king's refusal, war was declared against him by the allies. It may be proper to remark, that the partisans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretical king of England, as no less obnoxious than that which Francis had contracted with Solyman: And they

¹³ Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 768. vol. xv. p. 2.

observed, that this league was a breach of the C H A P. XXXIII. solemn promise, which he had given to Clement VII. never to make peace or alliance with 1543. England.

WHILE the treaty with the emperor was ne- 22d Jan- A parlia- ment.gociating, the king summoned a new session of parliament, in order to obtain supplies for his projected war with France. The parliament granted him a subsidy to be paid in three years: It was levied in a peculiar manner; but exceeded not three shillings in the pound, upon any individual ¹⁴. The convocation gave the king six shillings in the pound, to be levied in three years. Greater sums were always, even during the establishment of the catholic religion, exacted from the clergy than from the laity: Which made the emperor Charles say, when Henry dissolved the monasteries, and sold their revenues, or bestowed them on his nobility and courtiers, that he had killed the hen, which brought him the golden eggs ¹⁵.

¹⁴ They who were worth in goods twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds, paid four pence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, sixteen pence; from twenty and upwards, two shillings. Lands, fees, and annuities, from twenty shillings to five pounds, paid eight pence in the pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, sixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three shillings.

¹⁵ Collier, vol. ii. p. 176.

C H A P. THE parliament also facilitated the execution of
 XXXIII. the former law, by which the king's proclamations were made equal to statutes: They appointed, that any nine counsellors should form a legal court for punishing all disobedience to proclamations. The total abolition of juries in criminal causes, as well as of all parliaments, seemed, if the king had so pleased, the necessary consequence of this enormous law. He might issue a proclamation, enjoining the execution of any penal statute, and afterwards try the criminals, not for breach of the statute, but for disobedience to his proclamation. It is remarkable, that lord Mountjoy entered a protest against this law; and it is equally remarkable, that that protest is the only one entered against any public bill during this whole reign¹⁶.

It was enacted¹⁷, this session, that any spiritual person, who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine contained in the king's book, the *Erudition of a Christian man*, or contrary to any doctrine which he should *thereafter* promulgate, was to be admitted on the first conviction to renounce his error; on the second, he was required to carry a faggot; which if he refused to do, or fell into a third offence, he was to be burnt. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be liable to perpetual imprisonment. Indictments must be laid within a year after the offence, and the prisoner

¹⁶ Burnet, p. 322.

¹⁷ 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

was allowed to bring witnesses for his exculpation. These penalties were lighter than those which were formerly imposed on a denial of the real presence: It was, however, subjoined in this statute, that the act of the six articles was still in force. But in order to make the king more entirely master of his people, it was enacted, that he might hereafter, at his pleasure, change this act, or any provision in it. By this clause, both parties were retained in subjection: So far as regarded religion, the king was invested, in the fullest manner, with the sole legislative authority in his kingdom: And all his subjects were, under the severest penalties, expressly bound to receive implicitly, whatever doctrine he should please to recommend to them.

C H A P.

XXXIII.

1543.

THE reformers began to entertain hopes, that this great power of the crown might still be employed in their favor. The king married Catherine Par, widow of Nevil lord Latimer; a woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the new doctrine. By this marriage, Henry confirmed what had formerly been foretold in jest, that he would be obliged to espouse a widow. The king's league with the emperor seemed a circumstance no less favorable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between the factions.

12th July.

THE advantages, gained by this powerful confederacy between Henry and Charles, were inconsiderable during the present year. The campaign was opened with a victory, gained by the duke of Cleves, Francis's ally, over the

CHAP. forces of the emperor ¹⁸: Francis, in person,
 XXXIII. took the field early; and made himself master,
 1543. without resistance, of the whole dutchy of
 Luxembourg: He afterwards took Landrecy,
 and added some fortifications to it. Charles,
 having at last assembled a powerful army, appeared
 in the Low Countries; and after taking almost
 every fortress in the dutchy of Cleves, he reduced
 the duke to accept of the terms, which he was
 pleased to prescribe to him. Being then joined
 by a body of six thousand English, he sat down
 before Landrecy, and covered the siege with an
 army of above forty thousand men. Francis
 advanced at the head of an army not much
 inferior; as if he intended to give the emperor
 battle, or oblige him to raise the siege: But
 while these two rival monarchs were facing each
 other, and all men were in expectation of some
 great event; the French king found means of
 throwing succour into Landrecy, and having
 thus effected his purpose, he skilfully made a
 retreat. Charles, finding the season far advanced,
 despaired of success in his enterprise, and found
 it necessary to go into winter-quarters.

Affairs of
 Scotland

THE vanity of Henry was flattered, by the
 figure which he made in the great transactions
 on the continent: But the interests of his kingdom
 were more deeply concerned in the event of affairs
 in Scotland. Arran, the governor, was of so
 indolent and unambitious a character, that, had

¹⁸ Mémoires de Bellay, lib. 10.

he not been stimulated by his friends and dependants, he never had aspired to any share in the administration; and when he found himself overpowered by the party of the queen-dowager, the cardinal, and the earl of Lenox, he was glad to accept of any terms of accommodation, however dishonorable. He even gave them a sure pledge of his sincerity, by renouncing the principles of the reformers, and reconciling himself to the Romish communion in the Franciscan church at Stirling. By this weakness and levity he lost his credit with the whole nation, and rendered the protestants, who were hitherto the chief support of his power, his mortal enemies. The cardinal acquired an entire ascendant in the kingdom: The queen-dowager placed implicit confidence in him: The governor was obliged to yield to him in every pretension: Lenox alone was become an obstacle to his measures, and reduced him to some difficulty.

THE inveterate enmity, which had taken place between the families of Lenox and Arran, made the interests of these two noblemen entirely incompatible; and as the cardinal and the French party, in order to engage Lenox the more in their cause, had flattered him with the hopes of succeeding to the crown after their infant sovereign, this rivalry had tended still farther to rouse the animosity of the Hamiltons. Lenox too had been encouraged to aspire to the marriage of the queen-dowager, which would have given him some pretensions to the regency; and as he was become

C H A P.

XXVIII.

1543.

C H A P. XXXIII. 1543. assuming, on account of the services which he had rendered the party, the cardinal found, that, since he must chuse between the friendship of Lenox, and that of Arran, the latter nobleman, who was more easily governed, and who was invested with present authority, was in every respect preferable. Lenox, finding that he was not likely to succeed in his pretensions to the queen-dowager, and that Arran favored by the cardinal, had acquired the ascendant, retired to Dunbarton, the governor of which was entirely at his devotion; he entered into a secret correspondence with the English court; and he summoned his vassals and partisans to attend him. All those who were inclined to the protestant religion, or were on any account discontented with the cardinal's administration, now regarded Lenox as the head of their party; and they readily made him a tender of their services. In a little time, he had collected an army of ten thousand men, and he threatened his enemies with immediate destruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppose to him; but as he was a prudent man; he foresaw, that Lenox could not long subsist so great an army, and he endeavoured to gain time, by opening a negociation with him. He seduced his followers, by various artifices; he prevailed on the Douglasses to change party; he represented to the whole nation the danger of civil wars and commotions: And Lenox, observing the unequal contest, in which he was engaged, was at last obliged to lay

down his arms, and to accept of an accommodation with the governor and the cardinal. Present peace was restored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his castles, and putting himself in a posture of defence, waited the arrival of English succours, from whose assistance alone he expected to obtain the superiority over his enemies.

WHILE the winter season restrained Henry from military operations, he summoned a new parliament; in which a law was passed, such as he was pleased to dictate, with regard to the succession of the crown. After declaring, that the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male issue, were first and immediate heirs to the crown, the parliament restored the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of succession. This seemed a reasonable piece of justice, and corrected what the king's former violence had thrown into confusion; but it was impossible for Henry to do any thing, how laudable soever, without betraying in some circumstance, his usual extravagance and caprice: Though he opened the way for these two princesses to mount the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reversed, which had declared them illegitimate; he made the parliament confer on him a power of still excluding them, if they refused to submit to any conditions; which he should be pleased to impose; and he required them to enact, that, in default of his own issue, he might dispose of the crown, as he pleased, by will or letters

C H A P.
XXXIII.

1544.

January 14.

A parliament.

C H A P.
XXXIII.
1544.

patent. He did not probably foresee, that, in proportion as he degraded the parliament, by rendering it the passive instrument of his variable and violent inclinations, he taught the people to regard all its acts as invalid, and thereby defeated even the purposes, which he was so bent to attain.

AN act passed, declaring that the king's usual style should be "King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and on earth the supreme head of the church of England and Ireland." It seemed a palpable inconsistency, to retain the title of Defender of the faith, which the court of Rome had conferred on him, for maintaining its cause against Luther; and yet subjoin his ecclesiastical supremacy, in opposition to the claims of that court.

AN act also passed, for the remission of the debt, which the king had lately contracted by a general loan, levied upon the people. It will easily be believed, that, after the former act of this kind, the loan was not entirely voluntary¹⁹. But there was a peculiar circumstance, attending the present statute, which none but Henry would have thought of; namely, that those who had already gotten payment, either in whole or in part, should refund the money to the exchequer.

THE oaths, which Henry imposed for the security of his ecclesiastical model, were not more reasonable than his other measures. All his subjects of any distinction had already been obliged

¹⁹ 35 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

to renounce the pope's supremacy ; but as the clauses to which they swore had not been deemed entirely satisfactory, another oath was imposed ; and it was added, that all those who had taken the former oaths, should be understood to have taken the new one ²⁰. A strange supposition ; to represent men as bound by an oath, which they had never taken.

C H A P.
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1544.

THE most commendable law, to which the parliament gave their sanction, was that by which they mitigated the law of the six articles, and enacted, that no person should be put to his trial upon an accusation concerning any of the offences comprised in that sanguinary statute, except on the oath of twelve persons before commissioners authorized for the purpose ; and that no person should be arrested or committed to ward for any such offence before he was indicted. Any preacher, accused of speaking in his sermon contrary to these articles, must be indicted within forty days.

THE king always experienced the limits of his authority, whenever he demanded subsidies, however moderate, from the parliament ; and, therefore, not to hazard a refusal, he made no mention this season of a supply : But as his wars both in France and Scotland, as well as his usual prodigality, had involved him in great expence, he had recourse to other methods of filling his exchequer. Notwithstanding the former abolition

²⁰ 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

C H A P. of his debts, he yet required new loans from his
 XXXIII. subjects: And he enhanced gold from forty-five
 1544. shillings to forty-eight an ounce; and silver from
 three shillings and nine pence to four shillings.
 His pretence for this innovation, was to prevent
 the money from being exported; as if that ex-
 pedient could anywise serve the purpose. He even
 coined some base money, and ordered it to be
 current by proclamation. He named commissioners
 for levying a benevolence, and he extorted about
 seventy thousand pounds by this expedient.
 Read, alderman of London ²¹, a man somewhat
 advanced in years, having refused to contribute,
 or not coming up to the expectation of the com-
 missioners, was enrolled as a foot-soldier in the
 Scottish wars, and was there taken prisoner.
 Roach, who had been equally refractory, was
 thrown into prison, and obtained not his liberty
 but by paying a large composition ²². These
 powers of the prerogative (which at that time
 passed unquestioned), the compelling of any man
 to serve in any office, and the imprisoning of any
 man during pleasure, not to mention the practice
 of extorting loans, rendered the sovereign, in a
 manner, absolute master of the person and pro-
 perty of every individual.

EARLY this year the king sent a fleet and army
 to invade Scotland. The fleet consisted of near
 two hundred vessels, and carried on board ten

²¹ Herbert. Stowe, p. 588. Baker, p. 292.

²² Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 588.

thousand men. Dudley lord Lisle commanded the sea-forces; the earl of Hertford the land. The troops were disembarked near Leith; and after dispersing a small body which opposed them, they took that town without resistance, and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were soon beaten down (for little or no resistance was made); and the English first pillaged, and then set fire to the city. The regent and cardinal were not prepared to oppose so great a force, and they fled to Stirling. Hertford marched east-ward; and being joined by a new body under Evers, warden of the east marches, he laid waste the whole country, burned and destroyed Haddington and Dunbar, then retreated into England; having lost only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected some forces; but finding that the English were already departed, he turned them against Lenox, who was justly suspected of a correspondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making some resistance, was obliged to fly into England; where Henry settled a pension on him, and even gave him his niece, lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. In return, Lenox stipulated conditions, by which, had he been able to execute them, he must have reduced his country to total servitude²³.

HENRY'S policy was blamed in this sudden and violent incursion; by which he inflamed the passions of the Scots, without subduing their spirit;

²³ Rymer, vol. xv. p. 23. 29.

C H A P. and it was commonly said, that he did too much,
 XXXIII. if he intended to solicit an alliance, and too
 1544. little, if he meant a conquest²⁴. But the reason
 of his recalling the troops so soon, was his eager-
 ness to carry on a projected enterprise against
 France, in which he intended to employ the
 whole force of his kingdom. He had concerted
 a plan with the emperor, which threatened the
 total ruin of that monarchy, and must, as a ne-
 cessary consequence, have involved the ruin of
 England. These two princes had agreed to invade
 France with forces amounting to above a hundred
 thousand men: Henry engaged to set out from
 Calais: Charles from the Low-countries: They
 were to enter on no siege; but leaving all the
 frontier towns behind them, to march directly to
 Paris, where they were to join their forces, and
 thence to proceed to the entire conquest of the
 kingdom. Francis could not oppose, to these
 formidable preparations, much above forty thou-
 sand men.

14th July.
 Campaign
 in France.

HENRY, having appointed the queen regent
 during his absence, passed over to Calais with
 thirty thousand men, accompanied by the dukes
 of Norfolk and Suffolk, Fitzalan earl of Arundel,
 Vere earl of Oxford, the earl of Surrey, Paulet
 lord St. John, lord Ferrers of Chartley, lord
 Mountjoy, lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Anthony
 Brown, Sir Francis Bryan, and the most flourish-
 ing nobility and gentry of his kingdom. The

²⁴ Herbert. Burnet.

English army was soon joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and the whole composed an army, which nothing on that frontier was able to resist. The chief force of the French armies was drawn to the side of Champagne, in order to oppose the Imperialists.

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XXXIII.

1544.

THE emperor, with an army of near sixty thousand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and not to lose time, while he waited for the arrival of his confederate, he sat down before Luxembourg, which was surrendered to him: He thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meuse, which he took: Ligny met with the same fate: He next laid siege to St. Dizier on the Marne, which, though a weak place, made a brave resistance, under the count of Sancerre, the governor, and the siege was protracted beyond expectation.

THE emperor was employed before this town at the time the English forces were assembled in Picardy. Henry, either tempted by the defenceless condition of the French frontier, or thinking that the emperor had first broken his engagement, by forming sieges, or, perhaps, foreseeing at last the dangerous consequences of entirely subduing the French power, instead of marching forward to Paris, sat down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil: The king himself that before Boulogne. Vervin was governor of the latter place, and under him Philip Corse, a brave

C. H. A. P.

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544.

14th Sept.

old soldier, who encouraged the garrison to defend themselves to the last extremity against the English. He was killed during the course of the siege, and the town was immediately surrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin; who was afterwards beheaded for this dishonorable capitulation.

18th Sept.

DURING the course of this siege, Charles had taken St. Dizier; and finding the season much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France, since all his schemes for subduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have a pretence for deserting his ally, he sent a messenger to the English camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the siege of Boulogne to raise it with honor, and that the emperor himself had first broken the concert by besieging St. Dizier. This answer served Charles as a sufficient reason for concluding a peace with Francis, at Crespy, where no mention was made of England. He stipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of Orleans, Francis's second son; and Francis, in return, withdrew his troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and renounced all claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories in Italy. This peace, so advantageous to Francis, was procured, partly by the decisive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign by the count of Enguien over the Imperialists at Cerisolles in

Piedmont, partly by the emperor's great desire to turn his arms against the protestant princes in Germany. Charles ordered his troops to separate from the English in Picardy; and Henry, finding himself obliged to raise the siege of Montreuil, returned into England. This campaign served, to the populace, as matter of great triumph; but all men of sense concluded, that the king had, as in all his former military enterprizes, made, at a great expence, an acquisition, which was of no importance.

THE war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly, and with various success. Sir Ralph Evers, now lord Evers, and Sir Bryan Latoun, made an inroad into that kingdom; and having laid waste the counties of Tiviotdale and the Merse, they proceeded to the abbey of Coldingham, which they took possession of, and fortified. The governor assembled an army of eight thousand men, in order to dislodge them from this post; but he had no sooner opened his batteries before the place, than a sudden panic seized him; he left the army, and fled to Dunbar. He complained of the mutiny of his troops, and pretended apprehensions lest they should deliver him into the hands of the English: But his own unwarlike spirit was generally believed to have been the motive of this dishonorable flight. The Scottish army upon the departure of their general, fell into confusion; and had not Angus, with a few of his retainers, brought off the cannon, and protected their rear, the English might have

C H A P.

XXXIII.

1544.

30th Sept.

E A P. gained great advantages over them. Evers, elated
 XXXIII. with this success, boasted to Henry, that he had
 conquered all Scotland to the Forth; and he
 claimed a reward for this important service. The
 duke of Norfolk, who knew with what difficulty
 such acquisitions would be maintained against a
 warlike enemy, advised the king to grant him,
 as his reward, the conquests of which he boasted
 so highly. The next inroad made by the English,
 1545. showed the vanity of Evers's hopes. This general
 led about five thousand men into Tiviotdale,
 and was employed in ravaging that country; when
 intelligence was brought him, that some Scottish
 forces appeared near the abbey of Melros. Angus
 had roused the governor to more activity; and a
 proclamation being issued for assembling the troops
 of the neighbouring counties, a considerable body
 had repaired thither to oppose the enemy. Norman
 Lesly, son of the earl of Rothes, had also joined
 the army with some volunteers from Fife; and
 he inspired courage into the whole, as well by
 this accession of force, as by his personal bravery
 and intrepidity. In order to bring their troops
 to the necessity of a steady defence, the Scottish
 leaders ordered all their cavalry to dismount; and
 they resolved to wait, on some high grounds
 17th Feb. near Ancram, the assault of the English. The
 English, whose past successes had taught them
 too much to despise the enemy, thought, when
 they saw the Scottish horses led off the field, that
 the whole army was retiring; and they hastened
 to attack them. The Scots received them in

good order; and being favored by the advantage of the ground, as well as by the surprise of the English, who expected no resistance, they soon put them to flight, and pursued them with considerable slaughter. Evers and Latoun were both killed, and above a thousand men were made prisoners. In order to support the Scots in this war, Francis, some time after, sent over a body of auxiliaries, to the number of three thousand five hundred men, under the command of Montgomery, lord of Lorges²⁵. Reinforced by these succours, the governor assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at Haddington, and marched thence to ravage the east borders of England. He laid all waste wherever he came; and having met with no considerable resistance, he retired into his own country, and disbanded his army. The earl of Hertford, in revenge, committed ravages on the middle and west marches; and the war on both sides was signalized rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy, than by any considerable advantage gained by either party.

THE war likewise between France and England was not distinguished this year by any memorable event. Francis had equipped a fleet of above two hundred sail, besides gallies; and having embarked some land-forces on board, he sent them to make a descent in England²⁶. They sailed to the Isle of Wight, where they found the English fleet

C H A P.
XXXIII.
1545.

²⁵ Buchanan, lib. 15. Drummond.

²⁶ Belcain. Mémoires de Bellay.

C H A P. lying at anchor in St. Helen's. It consisted not
 XXXIII. of above a hundred sail; and the admiral thought
 1545. it most advisable to remain in that road, in hopes
 of drawing the French into the narrow channels
 and the rocks, which were unknown to them.
 The two fleets cannonaded each other for two
 days; and except the sinking of the Mary Rose,
 one of the largest ships of the English fleet, the
 damage on both sides was inconsiderable.

FRANCIS's chief intention, in equipping so great
 a fleet, was to prevent the English from throw-
 ing succours into Boulogne, which he resolved
 to besiege; and for that purpose, he ordered a
 fort to be built, by which he intended to block
 up the harbour. After a considerable loss of time
 and money, the fort was found so ill constructed,
 that he was obliged to abandon it; and though
 he had assembled, on that frontier, an army of
 near forty thousand men, he was not able to
 effect any considerable enterprise. Henry, in order
 to defend his possessions in France, had levied
 fourteen thousand Germans; who, having marched
 to Fleurines in the bishopric of Liege, found that
 they could advance no farther. The emperor
 would not allow them a passage through his do-
 minions: They received intelligence of a superior
 army on the side of France ready to intercept
 them: Want of occupation and of pay soon pro-
 duced a mutiny among them: And having seized
 the English commissaries as a security for arrears,
 they retreated into their own country. There

seems to have been some want of foresight in this C H A P.
expensive armament. XXXIII.

THE great expence of these two wars, main-
tained by Henry, obliged him to summon a
new parliament. The commons granted him a
subsidy, payable in two years, of two shillings
a pound on land ²⁷: The spirituality voted him
six shillings a pound. But the parliament, ap-
prehensive lest more demands should be made
upon them, endeavoured to save themselves by
a very extraordinary liberality of other people's
property: By one vote they bestowed on the
king all the revenues of the universities, as well
as of the chauntries, free chapels ²⁸, and hospitals.
Henry was pleased with this concession, as it
increased his power; but he had no intention to
rob learning of all her endowments; and he soon
took care to inform the universities, that he
meant not to touch their revenues. Thus these
ancient and celebrated establishments owe their
existence to the generosity of the king, not

²⁷ Those who possessed goods or money, above five pound and below ten, were to pay eight pence a pound: Those above ten pound, a shilling.

²⁸ A chauntry was a little church, chapel, or particular altar in some cathedral church, &c. endowed with lands or other revenues for the maintenance of one or more priests, daily to say mass or perform divine service, for the use of the founders, or such others as they appointed: Free chapels were independent on any church, and endowed for much the same purpose as the former. Jacob's Law Dict.

C H A P. to the protection of this fervile and prostitute
XXXIII. parliament.

1545.

THE prostitute spirit of the parliament farther appeared in the preamble of a statute ²⁹, in which they recognize the king to have always been, by the word of God, supreme head of the church of England; and acknowledge, that archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction but by his royal mandate: To him alone, say they, and such persons as he shall appoint, full power and authority is given from above to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins whatsoever. No mention is here made of the concurrence of a convocation, or even of a parliament. His proclamations are in effect acknowledged to have, not only the force of law, but the authority of revelation; and by his royal power he might regulate the actions of men, controul their words, and even direct their inward sentiments and opinions.

24th Dec.

THE king made in person a speech to the parliament on proroguing them; in which, after thanking them for their loving attachment to him, which, he said, equalled what was ever paid by their ancestors to any king of England, he complained of their dissensions, disputes, and animosities in religion. He told them, that the several pulpits were become a kind of batteries

²⁹ 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

against each other; and that one preacher called another heretic and anabaptist, which was retaliated by the opprobrious appellations of papist and hypocrite: That he had permitted his people the use of the Scriptures, not in order to furnish them with materials for disputing and railing, but that he might enable them to inform their consciences and instruct their children and families: That it grieved his heart to find how that precious jewel was prostituted, by being introduced into the conversation of every alehouse and tavern, and employed as a pretence for decrying the spiritual and legal pastors: And that he was sorry to observe, that the word of God, while it was the object of so much anxious speculation, had very little influence on their practice; and that, though an imaginary knowledge so much abounded, charity was daily going to decay ^{3°}. The king gave good advice; but his own example, by encouraging speculation and dispute, was ill fitted to promote that peaceable submission of opinion, which he recommended.

C H A P.
XXXIII.

1545.

HENRY employed in military preparations the money granted by parliament; and he sent over the earl of Hertford, and lord Lisle, the admiral, to Calais, with a body of nine thousand men, two-thirds of which consisted of foreigners. Some skirmishes of small moment ensued with the French; and no hopes of any considerable progress could be entertained by either party. Henry,

^{3°} Hall, fol. 261. Herbert, p. 534.

C H A P. whose animosity against Francis was not violent,
 XXXIII. had given sufficient vent to his humor by this
 1546. short war; and finding, that, from his great
 increase in corpulence and decay in strength, he
 could not hope for much longer life, he was
 desirous of ending a quarrel, which might prove
 dangerous to his kingdom during a minority.
 Francis likewise, on his part, was not averse to
 peace with England; because, having lately lost
 his son, the duke of Orleans, he revived his
 ancient claim upon Milan, and foresaw, that
 hostilities must soon, on that account, break out
 between him and the emperor. Commissioners,
 therefore, having met at Campe, a small place
 between Ardres and Guisnes, the articles were
 soon agreed on, and the peace signed by them.
 The chief conditions were, that Henry should
 retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the
 former debt due by Francis should be paid. This
 debt was settled at two millions of livres, besides
 a claim of 500,000 livres, which was afterwards
 to be adjusted. Francis took care to comprehend
 Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry
 obtained by a war, which cost him above one
 million three hundred and forty thousand pounds
 sterling³¹, was a bad and a chargeable security
 for a debt, which was not a third of the value.

THE king, now freed from all foreign wars,
 had leisure to give his attention to domestic
 affairs; particularly to the establishment of unifor-

³¹ Herbert. Stowe.

7th June:
 Peace with
 France and
 Scotland.

mity in opinion, on which he was so intent. Though he allowed an English translation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the mass in Latin; but he was at last prevailed on to permit, that the Litany, a considerable part of the service, should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and by this innovation, he excited a-new the hopes of the reformers, who had been somewhat discouraged by the severe law of the six articles. One petition of the new Litany was a prayer to save us *from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities*. Cranmer employed his credit to draw Henry into farther innovations; and he took advantage of Gardiner's absence, who was sent on an embassy to the emperor: But Gardiner, having written to the king, that, if he carried his opposition against the catholic religion to greater extremities, Charles threatened to break off all commerce with him, the success of Cranmer's projects was for some time retarded. Cranmer lost this year the most sincere and powerful friend that he possessed at court, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk: The queen-dowager of France, consort to Suffolk, had died some years before. This nobleman is one instance, that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and steady friendship; and Suffolk seems to have been worthy of the favor, which, from his earliest youth, he had enjoyed with his master. The king was sitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death; and he took the

C H A P.
XXXIII.
1546.

C H A P. opportunity both to express his own sorrow for
 XXXIII. the loss, and to celebrate the merits of the
 1546. deceased. He declared, that, during the whole
 course of their friendship, his brother-in-law had
 never made one attempt to injure an adversary,
 and had never whispered a word to the disadvantage
 of any person. "Is there any of you,
 "my lords, who can say as much?" When
 the king subjoined these words, he looked round
 in all their faces, and saw that confusion, which
 the consciousness of secret guilt naturally threw
 upon them ³².

CRANMER himself, when bereaved of this
 support, was the more exposed to those cabals
 of the courtiers, which the opposition in party
 and religion, joined to the usual motives of
 interest, rendered so frequent among Henry's
 ministers and counsellors. The catholics took
 hold of the king by his passion for orthodoxy;
 and they represented to him, that, if his laudable
 zeal for enforcing the truth met with no better
 success, it was altogether owing to the primate,
 whose example and encouragement were, in
 reality, the secret supports of heresy. Henry,
 seeing the point at which they aimed, feigned a
 compliance, and desired the council to make
 inquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promising that,
 if he were found guilty, he should be committed
 to prison, and brought to condign punishment.
 Every body now considered the primate as lost;

³² Coke's Inst. cap. 99.

and his old friends, from interested views, as C H A P.
 well as the opposite party, from animosity, began XXXIII.
 to show him marks of neglect and disregard. He 1546.
 was obliged to stand several hours among the
 lacqueys at the door of the council-chamber,
 before he could be admitted; and when he was
 at last called in, he was told, that they had de-
 termined to send him to the Tower. Cranmer
 said, that he appealed to the king himself; and
 finding his appeal disregarded, he produced a ring,
 which Henry had given him as a pledge of favor
 and protection. The council were confounded;
 and when they came before the king, he reproved
 them in the severest terms; and told them, that
 he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit,
 as well as with their malignity and envy: But
 he was determined to crush all their cabals, and to
 teach them, by the severest discipline, since gentle
 methods were ineffectual, a more dutiful con-
 currence in promoting his service. Norfolk, who
 was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their
 conduct, and said, that their only intention was
 to set the primate's innocence in a full light, by
 bringing him to an open trial: And Henry obliged
 them all to embrace him, as a sign of their
 cordial reconciliation. The mild temper of Cran-
 mer, rendered this agreement more sincere on his
 part, than is usual in such forced compliances³³.

BUT though Henry's favor for Cranmer rendered Persecu-
tions.

³³ Burnet, vol. i. p. 343, 344. Antiq. Brit. in vitâ
 Cranm.

G H A P. fruitless all accusations against him, his pride and
 XXXIII. peevishness, irritated by his declining state of
 1546. health, impelled him to punish with fresh severity
 all others, who presumed to entertain a different
 opinion from himself, particularly in the capital
 point of the real presence. Anne Ascue, a young
 woman of merit as well as beauty³⁴, who had
 great connexions with the chief ladies at court,
 and with the queen herself, was accused of dog-
 matizing on that delicate article; and Henry,
 instead of showing indulgence to the weakness of
 her sex and age, was but the more provoked,
 that a woman should dare to oppose his theological
 sentiments. She was prevailed on by Bonner's
 menaces to make a seeming recantation; but she
 qualified it with some reserves, which did not
 satisfy that zealous prelate. She was thrown into
 prison, and she there employed herself in com-
 posing prayers and discourses, by which she
 fortified her resolution to endure the utmost
 extremity rather than relinquish her religious
 principles. She even wrote to the king, and told
 him, that, as to the Lord's Supper, she believed
 as much as Christ himself had said of it, and as
 much of his divine doctrine as the catholic church
 had required: But while she could not be brought
 to acknowledge an assent to the king's explications,
 this declaration availed her nothing, and was
 rather regarded as a fresh insult. The chancellor,
 Wriothesley, who had succeeded Audley, and

³⁴ Bale. Speed, 780.

who was much attached to the catholic party, was sent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies who were in correspondence with her: But she maintained a laudable fidelity to her friends, and would confess nothing. She was put to the torture in the most barbarous manner, and continued still resolute in preserving secrecy. Some authors³⁵ add an extraordinary circumstance: That the chancellor, who stood by, ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to stretch the rack still farther; but that officer refused compliance: The chancellor menaced him; but met with a new refusal: Upon which that magistrate, who was otherwise a person of merit, but intoxicated with religious zeal, put his own hand to the rack, and drew it so violently that he almost tore her body asunder. Her constancy still surpassed the barbarity of her persecutors, and they found all their efforts to be baffled. She was then condemned to be burned alive; and being so dislocated by the rack, that she could not stand, she was carried to the stake in a chair. Together with her, were conducted Nicholas Belenian, a priest, John Laffels, of the king's household, and John Adams a tailor, who had been condemned for the same crime to the same punishment. They were all

C H A P.

XXXIII.

1546.

³⁵ Fox, vol. ii. p. 578. Speed, p. 780. Baker, p. 299. But Burnet questions the truth of this circumstance: Fox, however, transcribes her own paper, where she relates it. I must add, in justice to the king, that he disapproved of Wriothesely's conduct, and commended the lieutenant.

C H A P. tied to the stake; and in that dreadful situation,
 XXXIII. the chancellor sent to inform them, that their
 1546. pardon was ready drawn and signed, and should
 instantly be given them, if they would merit it
 by a recantation. They only regarded this offer
 as a new ornament to their crown of martyrdom;
 and they saw with tranquillity the executioner
 kindle the flames, which consumed them. Wrio-
 thesely did not consider, that this public and
 noted situation interested their honor the more to
 maintain a steady perseverance.

THOUGH the secrecy and fidelity of Anne
 Ascue saved the queen from this peril, that prin-
 cess soon after fell into a new danger, from which
 she narrowly escaped. An ulcer had broken out
 in the king's leg, which, added to his extreme
 corpulency and his bad habit of body, began
 both to threaten his life, and to render him,
 even more than usually, peevish and passionate.
 The queen attended him with the most tender
 and dutiful care, and endeavoured, by every
 soothing art and compliance, to allay those gusts
 of humor, to which he was become so subject.
 His favorite topic of conversation was theology;
 and Catherine, whose good sense enabled her to
 discourse on any subject, was frequently engaged
 in the argument; and being secretly inclined to
 the principles of the reformers, she unwarily
 betrayed too much of her mind on these occa-
 sions. Henry, highly provoked, that she should
 presume to differ from him, complained of her
 obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of

the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. He praised the king's anxious concern for preserving the orthodoxy of his subjects; and represented, that the more elevated the person was who was chastised, and the more near to his person, the greater terror would the example strike into every one, and the more glorious would the sacrifice appear to posterity. The chancellor, being consulted, was engaged by religious zeal to second these topics; and Henry, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his counsellors, went so far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up against his consort. Wriothesley executed his commands, and soon after brought the paper to him to be signed: For as it was high treason to throw slander upon the queen, he might otherwise have been questioned for his temerity. By some means, this important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. She was sensible of the extreme danger, to which she was exposed; but did not despair of being able, by her prudence and address, still to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her usual visit to the king, and found him in a more serene disposition than she had reason to expect. He entered on the subject, which was so familiar to him; and he seemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the conversation, and remarked, that such profound speculations were ill suited to the natural imbecility of her sex. Women, she said, by their first

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C H A P. creation, were made subject to men: The male
XXXIII. was created after the image of God; the female
1546. after the image of the male: It belonged to the
husband to chuse principles for his wife; the
wife's duty was, in all cases, to adopt implicitly
the sentiments of her husband: And as to herself,
it was doubly her duty, being blest with a
husband, who was qualified, by his judgment
and learning, not only to chuse principles for his
own family, but for the most wise and knowing
of every nation. "Not so! by St. Mary,"
replied the king, "you are now become a
"doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than
"receive instruction." She meekly replied, that
she was sensible how little she was entitled to
these praises; that though she usually declined not
any conversation, however sublime, when pro-
posed by his majesty, she well knew, that her
conceptions could serve to no other purpose than
to give him a little momentary amusement; that
she found the conversation apt to languish when
not revived by some opposition, and she had
ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of
sentiments, in order to give him the pleasure of
refuting her; and that she also purposed, by this
innocent artifice, to engage him into topics,
whence, she had observed by frequent experience,
that she reaped profit and instruction. "And is
"it so, sweetheart?" replied the king, "then
"are we perfect friends again." He embraced her
with great affection, and sent her away with
assurances of his protection and kindness. Her

enemies, who knew nothing of this sudden change, prepared next day to convey her to the Tower, pursuant to the king's warrant. Henry and Catherine were conversing amicably in the garden, when the chancellor appeared with forty of the pursuivants. The king spoke to him at some distance from her; and seemed to expostulate with him in the severest manner: She even overheard the appellations of *knave*, *fool*, and *beast*, which he liberally bestowed upon that magistrate; and then ordered him to depart his presence. She afterwards interposed to mitigate his anger: He said to her, "Poor soul! you know not how ill entitled this man is to your good offices." Thenceforth, the queen, having narrowly escaped so great a danger, was careful not to offend Henry's humor by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whose malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards regain his favor and good opinion ³⁶.

BUT Henry's tyrannical disposition, soured by ill health, burst out soon after to the destruction of a man, who possessed a much superior rank to that of Gardiner. The duke of Norfolk and his father during this whole reign, and even a part of the foregoing, had been regarded as the greatest subjects in the kingdom, and had rendered considerable service to the crown. The duke himself had in his youth acquired reputation by

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³⁶ Burnet, vol. i. p. 344. Herbert, p. 560. Speed, p. 780. Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 58.

C H A P. naval enterprizes : He had much contributed to
 XXXIII. the victory gained over the Scots at Flouden :
 1546. He had suppressed a dangerous rebellion in the
 North : And he had always done his part with
 honor in all the expeditions against France.
 Fortune seemed to conspire with his own in-
 dustry, in raising him to the greatest elevation.
 From the favors heaped on him by the crown,
 he had acquired an immense estate : The king
 had successively been married to two of his nieces ;
 and the king's natural son, the duke of Richmond,
 had married his daughter : Besides his descent
 from the ancient family of the Moubrays, by
 which he was allied to the throne, he had
 espoused a daughter of the duke of Buckingham,
 who was descended by a female from Edward III. :
 And as he was believed still to adhere secretly to
 the ancient religion, he was regarded, both
 abroad and at home, as the head of the catholic
 party. But all these circumstances, in proportion
 as they exalted the duke, provoked the jealousy
 of Henry ; and he foresaw danger, during his
 son's minority, both to the public tranquillity,
 and to the new ecclesiastical system, from the
 attempts of so potent a subject. But nothing
 tended more to expose Norfolk to the king's
 displeasure, than the prejudices, which Henry
 had entertained against the earl of Surrey, son of
 that nobleman.

SURREY was a young man of the most promising
 hopes, and had distinguished himself by every
 accomplishment, which became a scholar, a

courtier, and a soldier. He excelled in all the military exercises, which were then in request: He encouraged the fine arts by his patronage and example: He had made some successful attempts in poetry; and being smitten with the romantic gallantry of the age, he celebrated the praises of his mistresses, by his pen and his lance, in every masque and tournament. His spirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality; and he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and reserve, which his situation required. He had been left governor of Boulogne, when that town was taken by Henry; but though his personal bravery was unquestioned, he had been unfortunate in some rencounters with the French. The king, somewhat displeased with his conduct, had sent over Hertford to command in his place; and Surrey was so imprudent as to drop some menacing expressions against the ministers, on account of this affront, which was put upon him. And as he had refused to marry Hertford's daughter, and even waved every other proposal of marriage; Henry imagined, that he had entertained views of espousing the lady Mary; and he was instantly determined to repress, by the most severe expedients, so dangerous an ambition.

ACTUATED by all these motives, and perhaps influenced by that old disgust, with which the ill conduct of Catherine Howard had inspired him against her whole family, he gave private orders to arrest Norfolk and Surrey; and they were on

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Execution
of the earl
of Surrey.

the same day confined in the Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, neither parliaments nor juries seem ever to have given the least attention to them in any cause of the crown, during this whole reign. He was accused of entertaining in his family some Italians who were *suspected* to be spies; a servant of his had paid a visit to cardinal Pole in Italy, whence he was *suspected* of holding a correspondence with that obnoxious prelate; he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his scutcheon, which made him be *suspected* of aspiring to the crown, though both he and his ancestors had openly, during the course of many years, maintained that practice, and the heralds had even justified it by their authority. These were the crimes, for which a jury, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence, condemned the earl of Surrey for high treason; and their sentence was soon after executed upon him.

Attainder of
the duke of
Norfolk.

THE innocence of the duke of Norfolk was still, if possible, more apparent than that of his son; and his services to the crown had been greater. His dutchess, with whom he lived on bad terms, had been so base as to carry intelligence to his enemies of all she knew against him: Elizabeth Holland, a mistress of his, had been equally subservient to the design of the court: Yet with all these advantages his accusers discovered no greater crime, than his once saying, that the king was sickly, and could not hold

out long; and the kingdom was likely to fall into disorders, through the diversity of religious opinions. He wrote a pathetic letter to the king, pleading his past services, and protesting his innocence: Soon after, he embraced a more proper expedient for appeasing Henry, by making a submission and confession, such as his enemies required: But nothing could mollify the unrelenting temper of the king. He assembled a parliament, as the surest and most expeditious instrument of his tyranny; and the house of peers, without examining the prisoner, without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it down to the commons. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an opposite party to Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution; and he retired to his seat at Croydon³⁷. The king was now approaching fast towards his end; and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the commons, by which he desired them to hasten the bill, on pretence, that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl marshal, and it was necessary to appoint another, who might officiate at the ensuing ceremony of installing his son prince of Wales. The obsequious commons obeyed his directions, though founded on so frivolous a pretence; and the king, having affixed the royal assent to the bill by commissioners, issued orders

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³⁷ Burnet, vol. i. p. 348. Fox.

C H A P. for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of
 XXXIII. the twenty-ninth of January. But news being
 1547. carried to the Tower, that the king himself had
 expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obey-
 ing the warrant; and it was not thought advis-
 able by the council to begin a new reign by the
 death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom,
 who had been condemned by a sentence so un-
 just and tyrannical.

Death of
 the king.

THE king's health had long been in a declining
 state; but for several days all those near him
 plainly saw his end approaching. He was become
 so froward, that no one durst inform him of his
 condition; and as some persons, during this reign,
 had suffered as traitors for foretelling the king's
 death³⁸, every one was afraid, lest, in the trans-
 ports of his fury, he might, on this pretence,
 punish capitally the author of such friendly in-
 telligence. At last, Sir Anthony Denny ventur-
 ed to disclose to him the fatal secret, and exhort-
 ed him to prepare for the fate, which was await-
 ing him. He expressed his resignation; and de-
 sired that Cranmer might be sent for: But before
 the prelate arrived he was speechless, though he
 still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired
 him to give some sign of his dying in the faith
 of Christ. He squeezed the prelate's hand, and
 immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven
 years and nine months; and in the fifty-sixth year
 of his age.

³⁸ Lanquet's Epitome of Chronicles in the year 1541.

THE king had made his will near a month before his demise; in which he confirmed the destination of parliament, by leaving the crown first to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to the lady Elizabeth: The two princesses he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without consent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor son. After his own children, he settled the succession on Frances Brandon, marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of his sister, the French queen; then on Eleanor, countess of Cumberland, the second daughter. In passing over the posterity of the queen of Scots, his elder sister, he made use of the power obtained from parliament; but as he subjoined, that, after the failure of the French queen's posterity, the crown should descend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a question, whether these words could be applied to the Scottish line. It was thought, that these princes were not the next heirs after the house of Suffolk, but before that house; and that Henry, by expressing himself in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. The late injuries, which he had received from the Scots, had irritated him extremely against that nation; and he maintained to the last that character of violence and caprice, by which his life had been so much distinguished. Another circumstance of his will may suggest the same reflection with regard to the strange contrarieties of his temper and conduct: He left money for

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C H A P. masses to be said for delivering his soul from
 XXXIII. purgatory; and though he destroyed all those
 1547. institutions, established by his ancestors and others,
 for the benefit of *their* souls; and had even left
 the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the
 articles of faith, which he promulgated during
 his later years; he was yet determined, when
 the hour of death was approaching, to take care,
 at least, of his own future repose, and to adhere
 to the safer side of the question³⁹.

His charac-
 ter.

It is difficult to give a just summary of this
 prince's qualities: He was so different from him-
 self in different parts of his reign, that, as is well
 remarked by lord Herbert, his history is his best
 character and description. The absolute, uncon-
 trouled authority which he maintained at home,
 and the regard which he acquired among foreign
 nations, are circumstances, which entitle him,
 in some degree, to the appellation of a *great* prince;
 while his tyranny and barbarity exclude him from
 the character of a *good* one. He possessed, in-
 deed, great vigor of mind, which qualified him
 for exercising dominion over men; courage, in-
 trepidity, vigilance, inflexibility: And though
 these qualities lay not always under the guidance
 of a regular and solid judgment, they were ac-
 companied with good parts, and an extensive
 capacity; and every one dreaded a contest with
 a man, who was known never to yield or to
 forgive, and who, in every controversy, was

³⁹ See his will in Fuller, Heylin, and Rymer, p. 110.
 There is no reasonable ground to suspect its authenticity.

determined, either to ruin himself or his antagonist. C H A P.
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A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature: Violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice: But neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he, at intervals, altogether destitute of virtues: He was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. In this respect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his reign served to display his faults in their full light: The treatment, which he met with from the court of Rome, provoked him to violence; the danger of a revolt from his superstitious subjects, seemed to require the most extreme severity. But it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that his situation tended to throw an additional lustre on what was great and magnanimous in his character: The emulation between the emperor and the French king rendered his alliance, notwithstanding his impolitic conduct, of great importance in Europe: The extensive powers of his prerogative, and the submissive, not to say slavish, disposition of his parliaments, made it the more easy for him to assume and maintain that entire dominion, by which his reign is so much distinguished in the English history.

It may seem a little extraordinary, that, notwithstanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary administration, this prince not

C H A P. only acquired the regard of his subjects; but never
 XXXIII. was the object of their hatred: He seems even
 1547. in some degree to have possessed, to the last,
 their love and affection⁴⁰. His exterior qualities
 were advantageous, and fit to captivate the mul-
 titude: His magnificence and personal bravery
 rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes: And it
 may be said, with truth, that the English in that
 age were so thoroughly subdued, that, like eastern
 slaves, they were inclined to admire those acts of
 violence and tyranny, which were exercised over
 themselves, and at their own expence.

WITH regard to foreign states, Henry appears
 long to have supported an intercourse of friendship
 with Francis, more sincere and disinterested than
 usually takes place between neighbouring princes.
 Their common jealousy of the emperor Charles,
 and some resemblance in their characters (though
 the comparison sets the French monarch in a
 very superior and advantageous light), served as
 the cement of their mutual amity. Francis is said
 to have been affected with the king's death, and
 to have expressed much regret for the loss. His
 own health began to decline: He foretold, that
 he should not long survive his friend⁴¹: And he
 died in about two months after him.

Miscellane-
 ous transac-
 tions.

THERE were ten parliaments summoned by
 Henry VIII. and twenty-three sessions held. The
 whole time, in which these parliaments sat during
 this long reign, exceeded not three years and a

⁴⁰ Strype, vol. i. p. 389.

⁴¹ Thuanus.

half. It amounted not to a twelvemonth during the first twenty years. The innovations in religion obliged the king afterwards to call these assemblies more frequently: But though these were the most important transactions that ever fell under the cognizance of parliament, their devoted submission to Henry's will, added to their earnest desire of soon returning to their country-seats, produced a quick dispatch of the bills, and made the sessions of short duration. All the king's caprices were, indeed, blindly complied with, and no regard was paid to the safety or liberty of the subject. Besides the violent prosecution of whatever he was pleased to term heresy, the laws of treason were multiplied beyond all former precedent. Even words to the disparagement of the king, queen, or royal issue, were subjected to that penalty; and so little care was taken in framing these rigorous statutes, that they contain obvious contradictions; infomuch that, had they been strictly executed, every man, without exception, must have fallen under the penalty of treason. By one statute⁴², for instance, it was declared treason to assert the validity of the king's marriage, either with Catherine of Arragon, or Anne Boleyn: By another⁴³, it was treason to say any thing to the disparagement or slander of the princesses, Mary and Elizabeth; and to call them spurious would, no doubt, have been construed to their slander. Nor would even a pro-

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⁴² 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7.⁴³ 34, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

C H A P. found silence, with regard to these delicate points,
 XXXIII. be able to save a person from such penalties. For
 1547. by the former statute, whoever refused to answer
 upon oath to any point contained in that act,
 was subjected to the pains of treason. The king,
 therefore, needed only propose to any one a
 question with regard to the legality of either of
 his first marriages: If the person were silent, he
 was a traitor by law: If he answered, either in
 the negative or in the affirmative, he was no less
 a traitor. So monstrous were the inconsistencies,
 which arose from the furious passions of the king,
 and the slavish submission of his parliaments. It
 is hard to say, whether these contradictions were
 owing to Henry's precipitancy, or to a formed
 design of tyranny.

It may not be improper to recapitulate whatever is memorable in the statutes of this reign, whether with regard to government or commerce: Nothing can better show the genius of the age than such a review of the laws.

THE abolition of the ancient religion much contributed to the regular execution of justice. While the catholic superstition subsisted, there was no possibility of punishing any crime in the clergy: The church would not permit the magistrate to try the offences of her members, and she could not herself inflict any civil penalties upon them. But Henry restrained these pernicious immunities: The privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and

felony, to all under the degree of a subdeacon⁴⁴. But the former superstition not only protected crimes in the clergy: It exempted also the laity from punishment, by affording them shelter in the churches and sanctuaries. The parliament abridged these privileges. It was first declared, that no sanctuaries were allowed in cases of high treason⁴⁵; next, in those of murder, felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treason⁴⁶: And it limited them in other particulars⁴⁷. The farther progress of the reformation removed all distinction between the clergy and other subjects, and also abolished entirely the privileges of sanctuaries. These consequences were implied in the neglect of the canon law.

THE only expedient employed to support the military spirit during this age, was the reviving and extending of some old laws, enacted for the encouragement of archery, on which the defence of the kingdom was supposed much to depend. Every man was ordered to have a bow⁴⁸: Butts were ordered to be erected in every parish⁴⁹: And every bowyer was ordered, for each bow of yew which he made, to make two of elm or wick, for the service of the common people⁵⁰. The use of cross-bows and handguns was also prohibited⁵¹. What rendered the English bowmen more formidable was, that they carried halberts

⁴⁴ 23 Hen. VIII. c. 1.⁴⁵ 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13.⁴⁶ 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12.⁴⁷ 22 Hen. VIII. c. 14.⁴⁸ 3 Hen. VIII. c. 3.⁴⁹ Ibid. ⁵⁰ Ibid.⁵¹ 3 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

C H A P. with them, by which they were enabled, upon
 XXXIII. occasion, to engage in close fight with the ene-
 1547. my⁵². Frequent musters or arrays were also
 made of the people, even during time of peace;
 and all men of substance were obliged to have a
 complete suit of armour or harness, as it was
 called⁵³. The martial spirit of the English, during
 that age, rendered this precaution, it was thought,
 sufficient for the defence of the nation; and as the
 king had then an absolute power of commanding
 the service of all his subjects, he could instantly,
 in case of danger, appoint new officers, and levy
 regiments, and collect an army as numerous as
 he pleased. When no faction or division prevailed
 among the people, there was no foreign power
 that ever thought of invading England. The
 city of London alone could muster fifteen thou-
 sand men⁵⁴. Discipline, however, was an ad-
 vantage wanting to those troops; though the
 garrison of Calais was a nursery of officers; and
 Tournay first⁵⁵, Boulogne afterwards, served to
 increase the number. Every one, who served
 abroad, was allowed to alienate his lands without
 paying any fees⁵⁶. A general permission was
 granted to dispose of land by will⁵⁷. The par-
 liament was so little jealous of its privileges

⁵² Herbert.

⁵³ Hall, fol. 234. Stowe, p. 515. Hollingshed, p. 947.

⁵⁴ Hall, fol. 235. Hollingshed, p. 547. Stowe, p. 577.

⁵⁵ Hall, fol. 68.

⁵⁶ 14 and 15 Hen. VIII. c. 15.

⁵⁷ 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

(which indeed were, at that time, scarcely worth preserving), that there is an instance of one Strode, who, because he had introduced into the lower house some bill regarding tin, was severely treated by the Stannery courts in Cornwall: Heavy fines were imposed on him; and upon his refusal to pay, he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and used in such a manner as brought his life in danger: Yet all the notice which the parliament took of this enormity, even in such a paultry court, was to enact, that no man could afterwards be questioned for his conduct in parliament⁵⁸. This prohibition, however, must be supposed to extend only to the inferior courts: For as to the king, and privy-council, and star-chamber, they were scarcely bound by any law.

THERE is a bill of tonnage and poundage, which shows what uncertain ideas the parliament had formed both of their own privileges and of the rights of the sovereign⁵⁹. This duty had been voted to every king since Henry IV. during the term of his own life only: Yet Henry VIII. had been allowed to levy it six years without any law; and though there had been four parliaments assembled during that time, no attention had been given either to grant it to him regularly, or restrain him from levying it. At last, the parliament resolved to give him that supply;

⁵⁸ 4 Hen. VIII. c. 8. ⁵⁹ 6 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

C H A P. but even in this concession, they plainly show
 XXXIII. themselves at a loss to determine whether they
 1547. grant it, or whether he has a right of himself to
 levy it. They say, that the imposition was made
 to endure during the natural life of the late king,
 and no longer: They yet blame the merchants
 who had not paid it to the present king: They
 observe, that the law for tonnage and poundage
 was expired; yet make no scruple to call that
 imposition the king's due: They affirm, that he
 had sustained great and manifold losses by those
 who had defrauded him of it; and to provide a
 remedy, they vote him that supply during his
 life-time, and no longer. It is remarkable, that,
 notwithstanding this last clause, all his successors,
 for more than a century, persevered in the *like*
 irregular practice: If a practice may deserve that
 epithet, in which the whole nation acquiesced,
 and which gave no offence. But when Charles I.
 attempted to continue in the same course, which
 had now received the sanction of many generations,
 so much were the opinions of men altered, that a
 furious tempest was excited by it; and historians,
 partial or ignorant, still represent this measure as
 a most violent and unprecedented enormity in
 that unhappy prince.

THE king was allowed to make laws for
 Wales, without consent of parliament⁶⁰. It was
 forgotten, that, with regard both to Wales and
 England, the limitation was abolished by the

⁶⁰ 34 Hen. VIII.

Statute, which gave to the royal proclamations the force of laws. C H A P. XXXIII.

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THE foreign commerce of England, during this age, was mostly confined to the Netherlands. The inhabitants of the Low Countries bought the English commodities, and distributed them into other parts of Europe. Hence the mutual dependence of those countries on each other; and the great loss sustained by both, in case of a rupture. During all the variations of politics, the sovereigns endeavoured to avoid coming to this extremity; and though the king usually bore a greater friendship to Francis, the nation always leaned towards the emperor.

IN 1528, hostilities commenced between England and the Low Countries; and the inconvenience was soon felt on both sides. While the Flemings were not allowed to purchase cloth in England, the English merchants could not buy it from the clothiers, and the clothiers were obliged to dismiss their workmen, who began to be tumultuous for want of bread. The cardinal, to appease them, sent for the merchants, and ordered them to buy cloth as usual: They told him, that they could not dispose of it as usual; and notwithstanding his menaces, he could get no other answer from them⁶¹. An agreement was at last made to continue the commerce between the states, even during war.

It was not till the end of this reign that any

⁶¹ Hall, folio 174.

C H A P. XXXIII. 1547. salads, carrots, turnips, or other edible roots were produced in England. The little of these vegetables, that was used, was formerly imported from Holland and Flanders ⁶². Queen Catherine, when she wanted a salad, was obliged to dispatch a messenger thither on purpose. The use of hops and the planting of them, was introduced from Flanders about the beginning of this reign, or end of the preceding.

FOREIGN artificers, in general, much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality: Hence the violent animosity, which the latter, on many occasions, expressed against any of the former who were settled in England. They had the assurance to complain, that all their customers went to foreign tradesmen; and in the year 1517, being moved by the seditious sermons of one Dr. Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, they raised an insurrection. The apprentices, and others of the poorer sort, in London, began by breaking open the prisons, where some persons were confined for insulting foreigners. They next proceeded to the house of Meutas, a Frenchman, much hated by them; where they committed great disorders; killed some of his servants; and plundered his goods. The mayor could not appease them; nor Sir Thomas More, late under sheriff, though much respected in the city. They also threatened cardinal Wolsey with some insult; and he thought

⁶² Anderson, vol. i. p. 338.

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it necessary to fortify his house, and put himself on his guard. Tired at last with these disorders, they dispersed themselves; and the earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey seized some of them. A proclamation was issued, that women should not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men should keep their wives in their houses. Next day the duke of Norfolk came into the city, at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, and made inquiry into the tumult. Beale and Lincoln, and several others, were sent to the Tower, and condemned for treason. Lincoln and thirteen more were executed. The other criminals, to the number of four hundred, were brought before the king, with ropes about their necks, fell on their knees, and cried for mercy. Henry knew at that time how to pardon; he dismissed them without farther punishment⁶³.

So great was the number of foreign artisans in the city, that at least fifteen thousand Flemings alone were at one time obliged to leave it, by an order of council, when Henry became jealous of their favor for queen Catherine⁶⁴. Henry himself confesses, in an edict of the star-chamber, printed among the statutes, that the foreigners starved the natives; and obliged them from idleness to have recourse to theft, murder, and other enormities⁶⁵. He also asserts, that the vast multitude of foreigners raised the price of

⁶³ Stowe, 505. Hollingshed, 840.

⁶⁴ Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 232.

⁶⁵ 21 Hen. VIII.

C H A P. grain and bread ⁶⁶. And to prevent an increase
 XXXIII. of the evil, all foreign artificers were prohibited
 1547. from having above two foreigners in their house,
 either journeymen or apprentices. A like jealousy
 arose against the foreign merchants; and to appease it, a law was enacted obliging all denizens
 to pay the duties imposed upon aliens ⁶⁷. The
 parliament had done better to have encouraged
 foreign merchants and artisans to come over in
 greater numbers to England; which might have
 excited the emulation of the natives, and have
 improved their skill. The prisoners in the king-
 dom, for debts and crimes, are asserted in an act
 of parliament, to be sixty thousand persons and
 above ⁶⁸; which is scarcely credible. Harrison
 asserts that 72,000 criminals were executed during
 this reign for theft and robbery, which would
 amount nearly to 2000 a-year. He adds, that,
 in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, there were
 not punished capitally 400 in a year: It appears,
 that, in all England, there are not at present fifty
 executed for those crimes. If these facts be just,
 there has been a great improvement in morals
 since the reign of Henry VIII. And this improve-
 ment has been chiefly owing to the increase
 of industry and of the arts, which have given
 maintenance, and, what is almost of equal im-
 portance, occupation, to the lower classes.

THERE is a remarkable clause in a statute passed

⁶⁶ 21. Hen. VIII.

⁶⁷ 22 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

⁶⁸ 3 Hen. VIII. c. 15.

near the beginning of this reign⁶⁹, by which we might be induced to believe, that England was extremely decayed from the flourishing condition, which it had attained in preceding times. It had been enacted in the reign of Edward II. that no magistrate in town or borough, who by his office ought to keep assize, should, during the continuance of his magistracy, sell, either in wholesale or retail, any wine or victuals. This law seemed equitable, in order to prevent fraud or private views in fixing the assize: Yet the law is repealed in this reign. The reason assigned is, that “since
 “ the making of that statute and ordinance, many
 “ and the most part of all the cities, boroughs,
 “ and towns corporate, within the realm of Eng-
 “ land, are fallen in ruin and decay, and are not
 “ inhabited by merchants, and men of such sub-
 “ stance as at the time of making that statute: For
 “ at this day, the dwellers and inhabitants of the
 “ same cities and boroughs are commonly bakers,
 “ vintners, fishmongers, and other victuallers,
 “ and there remain few others to bear the offices.”
 Men have such a propensity to exalt past times above the present, that it seems dangerous to credit this reasoning of the parliament, without farther evidence to support it. So different are the views in which the same object appears, that some may be inclined to draw an opposite inference from this fact. A more regular police was established in the reign of Henry VIII. than in any

C H A P.
 XXXIII.
 1547.

⁶⁹ 3 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

C H A P. former period , and a stricter administration of
 XXXIII. justice ; an advantage which induced the men of
 1547. landed property to leave the provincial towns,
 and to retire into the country. Cardinal Wolsey,
 in a speech to parliament, represented it as a proof
 of the increase of riches , that the customs had
 increased beyond what they were formerly ⁷⁰.

BUT if there were really a decay of commerce,
 and industry , and populousness in England , the
 statutes of this reign , except by abolishing mo-
 nasteries , and retrenching holidays , circumstances
 of considerable moment, were not in other respects
 well calculated to remedy the evil. The fixing of
 the wages of artificers was attempted ⁷¹: Luxury
 in apparel was prohibited, by repeated statutes ⁷²;
 and probably without effect. The chancellor and
 other ministers were empowered to fix the price
 of poultry , cheese , and butter ⁷³. A statute was
 even passed to fix the price of beef , pork , mut-
 ton , and veal ⁷⁴. Beef and pork were ordered to
 be sold at a halfpenny a pound : Mutton and veal
 at a halfpenny half a farthing, money of that age.
 The preamble of the statute says , that these four
 species of butcher's meat were the food of the
 poorer sort. This act was afterwards repealed ⁷⁵.

THE practice of depopulating the country , by
 abandoning tillage , and throwing the lands into

⁷⁰ Hall, folio 110.

⁷¹ 6 Hen. VIII. c. 3.

⁷² 1 Hen. VIII. c. 14. 6 Hen. VIII. c. 1. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 7.

⁷³ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2.

⁷⁴ 24 Hen. VIII. c. 3.

⁷⁵ 33 Hen. VIII. c. 11.

pasturage,

pasturage, still continued ⁷⁶; as appears by the new laws which were, from time to time, enacted against that practice. The king was entitled to half the rents of the land, where any farm houses were allowed to fall to decay ⁷⁷. The unskilful husbandry was probably the cause why the proprietors found no profit in tillage. The number of sheep allowed to be kept in one flock, was restrained to two thousand ⁷⁸. Sometimes, says the statute, one proprietor or farmer would keep a flock of twenty-four thousand. It is remarkable, that the parliament ascribes the increasing price of mutton, to this increase of sheep: Because, say they, the commodity being gotten into few hands, the price of it is raised at pleasure ⁷⁹. It is more probable, that the effect proceeded from the daily increase of money: For it seems almost impossible, that such a commodity could be engrossed.

C H A P.

XXXIII.

1547.

IN the year 1544, it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire was let at a shilling, or about fifteen pence of our present money ⁸⁰. This is ten times cheaper than the usual rent at present. But commodities were not above four times cheaper: A presumption of the bad husbandry in that age.

SOME laws were made with regard to beggars

⁷⁶ Strype, vol. i. p. 392.

⁷⁷ 6 Hen. VIII. c. 5. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

⁷⁸ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

⁷⁹ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

⁸⁰ Anderson, vol. i. p. 374.

C H A P. and vagrants ⁸¹; one of the circumstances in go-
 XXXIII. vernment, which humanity would most power-
 1547. fully recommend to a benevolent legislator; which
 seems, at first sight, the most easily adjusted;
 and which is yet the most difficult to settle in
 such a manner, as to attain the end without de-
 stroying industry. The convents formerly were
 a support to the poor; but at the same time
 tended to encourage idleness and beggary.

IN 1546, a law was made for fixing the interest
 of money at 10 per cent; the first legal interest
 known in England. Formerly, all loans of that
 nature were regarded as usurious. The preamble
 of this very law treats the interest of money as
 illegal and criminal: And the prejudices still re-
 mained so strong, that the law, permitting in-
 terest, was repealed in the following reign.

THIS reign, as well as many of the foregoing
 and even subsequent reigns, abounds with mo-
 nopolizing laws, confining particular manufactures
 to particular towns, or excluding the open country
 in general ⁸². There remain still too many traces
 of similar absurdities. In the subsequent reign,
 the corporations, which had been opened by a
 former law, and obliged to admit tradesmen of
 different kinds, were again shut up by act of
 parliament; and every one was prohibited from
 exercising any trade, who was not of the cor-
 poration ⁸³.

⁸¹ 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

⁸² 21 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18. 3 & 4
 Edw. VI. c. 20. 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 24.

⁸³ 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 20.

C H A P.

XXXIII.

1547.

HENRY, as he possessed, himself, some talent for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity college in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolsey founded Christ Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal college: But upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finished his scheme, the king seized all the revenues; and this violence, above all the other misfortunes of that minister, is said to have given him the greatest concern⁸⁴. But Henry afterwards restored the revenues of the college, and only changed the name. The cardinal founded in Oxford the first chair for teaching Greek; and this novelty rent that university into violent factions, which frequently came to blows. The students divided themselves into parties, which bore the names of Greeks and Trojans, and sometimes fought with as great animosity as was formerly exercised by those hostile nations. A new and more correct method of pronouncing Greek being introduced, it also divided the Grecians themselves into parties; and it was remarked, that the catholics favored the former pronunciation, the protestants gave countenance to the new. Gardiner employed the authority of the king and council to suppress innovations in this particular, and to preserve the corrupt sound of the Greek alphabet. So little liberty was then allowed of any kind! The penalties, inflicted upon the new pronunciation

⁸⁴ Strype, vol. i. p. 117.

C H A P. were no less than whipping, degradation, and
XXXIII. expulsion; and the bishop declared, that rather
 1547. than permit the liberty of innovating in the pro-
 nunciation of the Greek alphabet, it were better
 that the language itself were totally banished the
 universities. The introduction of the Greek lan-
 guage into Oxford, excited the emulation of
 Cambridge⁸⁵. Wolsey intended to have enriched
 the library of his college at Oxford, with copies
 of all the manuscripts that were in the Vatican⁸⁶.
 The countenance given to letters by this king
 and his ministers, contributed to render learning
 fashionable in England: Erasmus speaks with
 great satisfaction of the general regard paid by
 the nobility and gentry to men of knowledge⁸⁷.
 It is needless to be particular in mentioning the
 writers of this reign, or of the preceding. There
 is no man of that age, who has the least preten-
 sion to be ranked among our classics. Sir Thomas
 More, though he wrote in Latin, seems to come
 the nearest to the character of a classical author.

⁸⁵ Wood's Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 245.

⁸⁶ Ibid. 249.

⁸⁷ Epist. ad Banisium. Also epist. p. 368.

N O T E S
T O T H E
F I F T H V O L U M E.

NOTE [A], p. 90.

PROTESTANT writers have imagined, that, because a man could purchase for a shilling an indulgence for the most enormous and unheard-of crimes, there must necessarily have ensued a total dissolution of morality, and consequently of civil society, from the practices of the Romish church. They do not consider, that, after all these indulgences were promulgated, there still remained (besides Hell-fire) the punishment by the civil magistrate, the infamy of the world, and secret remorse of conscience, which are the great motives that operate on mankind. The philosophy of *Cicero*, who allowed of an *Elysium*, but rejected all *Tartarus*, was a much more universal indulgence than that preached by *Arcemboldi* or *Tetzel*: Yet nobody will suspect *Cicero* of any design to promote immorality. The sale of indulgences seems, therefore, no more criminal than any other cheat of the church of Rome, or of any other church. The reformers, by entirely abolishing purgatory, did really, instead of partial indulgences sold by the pope, give, gratis, a general indulgence, of a similar nature, for all crimes and offences, without exception or distinction. The souls, once consigned to Hell, were never supposed to be redeemable by any price. There is on record only one instance of a damned soul that was saved, and that by the special intercession of the Virgin. See Pascal's Provincial Letters. An indulgence saved the person, who purchased it, from purgatory only.

NOTE [B], p. 107.

IT is said, that when Henry heard that the commons made a great difficulty of granting the required supply, he was so provoked, that he sent for Edward Montague, one of the members, who had a considerable influence on the house; and he being introduced to his majesty, had the mortification to hear him speak in these words: *Ho! man! will they not suffer my bill to pass?* And laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him, *Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of yours shall be off.* This cavalier manner of Henry succeeded: For next day the bill passed. *Collins's British Peerage. Grove's life of Wolsey.* We are told by *Hall*, fol. 38. That cardinal Wolsey endeavoured to terrify the citizens of London into the general loan, exacted in 1525, and told them plainly, that *it were better, that some should suffer indigence, than that the king at this time should lack; and therefore beware and resist not, nor ruffle not in this case, for it may fortune to cost some people their heads.* Such was the style employed by this king and his ministers.

NOTE [C], p. 165.

THE first article of the charge against the cardinal is his procuring the legantine power, which, however, as it was certainly done with the king's consent and permission, could be nowise criminal. Many of the other articles also regard the mere exercise of that power. Some articles impute to him as crimes, particular actions, which were natural or unavoidable to any man, that was prime minister with so unlimited an authority; such as receiving first all letters from the king's ministers abroad, receiving first all visits from foreign ministers, desiring that all applications should be made through him. He was also accused of naming himself with the king, as if he had been his fellow, *the king and I*; It is reported that sometimes he even

put his own name before the king's, *ego et rex meus*. But this mode of expression is justified by the Latin idiom. It is remarkable, that his whispering in the king's ear, knowing himself to be affected with venereal distempers, is an article against him. Many of the charges are general, and incapable of proof. Lord Herbert goes so far, as to affirm, that no man ever fell from so high a station, who had so few real crimes objected to him. This opinion is perhaps a little too favorable to the cardinal. Yet the refutation of the articles by Cromwel, and their being rejected by a house of commons even in this arbitrary reign, is almost a demonstration of Wolsey's innocence. Henry was, no doubt, entirely bent on his destruction, when, on his failure by a parliamentary impeachment, he attacked him upon the statute of provisors, which afforded him so little just hold on that minister. For that this indictment was subsequent to the attack in parliament, appears by Cavendish's life of Wolsey, and Stowe, p. 551, and more certainly by the very articles of impeachment themselves. Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 42. article 7. Coke's Inst. pt. 4. fol. 89.

NOTE [D], p. 176.

EVEN judging of this question by the Scripture, to which the appeal was every moment made, the arguments for the king's cause appear but lame and imperfect. Marriage in the degree of affinity which had place between Henry and Catherine, is, indeed, prohibited in Leviticus; but it is natural to interpret that prohibition as a part of the Jewish ceremonial or municipal law: And though it is there said, in the conclusion, that the gentile nations, by violating those degrees of consanguinity, had incurred the divine displeasure, the extension of this maxim to every precise case before specified, is supposing the Scriptures to be composed with a minute accuracy and precision, to which, we know with certainty, the sacred penmen did not think proper to confine themselves. The descent of

mankind from one common father, obliged them, in the first generation, to marry in the nearest degrees of consanguinity: Instances of a like nature occur among the patriarchs: And the marriage of a brother's widow was, in certain cases, not only permitted, but even enjoined as a positive precept by the Mosaical law. It is in vain to say, that this precept was an exception to the rule; and an exception confined merely to the Jewish nation. The inference is still just, that such a marriage can contain no natural or moral turpitude; otherwise God, who is the author of all purity, could never, in any case, have enjoined it.

NOTE [E], p. 189.

BISHOP BURNET has given us an account of the number of bulls requisite for Cranmer's installation. By one bull, directed to the king, he is, upon the royal nomination, made archbishop of Canterbury. By a second, directed to himself, he is also made archbishop. By a third, he is absolved from all censures. A fourth is directed to the suffragans, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as archbishop. A fifth to the dean and chapter, to the same purpose. A sixth to the clergy of Canterbury. A seventh to all the laity in his see. An eighth to all that held lands of it. By a ninth he was ordered to be consecrated, taking the oath that was in the pontifical. By a tenth the pall was sent him. By an eleventh, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of London, were required to put it on him. These were so many devices to draw fees to offices, which the popes had erected, and disposed of for money. It may be worth observing, that Cranmer, before he took the oath to the pope, made a protestation, that he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any thing that he was bound to, either by his duty to God, the king, or the country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of these. This was the invention of some casuist, and not very compatible with

that strict sincerity, and that scrupulous conscience, of which Cranmer made profession. Collier, vol. ii. in Coll. N° 22. Burnet, vol. i. p. 128, 129.

NOTE [F], p. 208.

HERE are the terms in which the king's minister expressed himself to the pope. *An non, inquam, sanctitas vestra plerisque habet, quibus, cum arcanum aliquid crediderit, putet id non minus celatum esse quam si uno tantum pectore contineretur; quod multo magis serenissimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet, cui singuli in suo regno sunt subjecti, neque etiam velint, possunt Regi non esse fidelissimi. Væ namque illis, si vel parvo momento ab illius voluntate recederent.* Le Grand, tom. iii. p. 113. The king once said publicly before the council, that if any one spoke of him or his actions, in terms which became them not, he would let them know, that he was master. *Et qu'il n'y auroit si belle tête qu'il ne fit voler.* Id. p. 218.

NOTE [G], p. 248.

THIS letter contains so much nature and even elegance, as to deserve to be transmitted to posterity, without any alteration in the expression. It is as follows.

“ SIR, your grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are
 “ things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what
 “ to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you
 “ send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so
 “ obtain your favor) by such an one, whom you know
 “ to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your
 “ meaning; and, if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed
 “ may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and
 “ duty perform your command.

“ But let not your grace ever imagine, that your poor
 “ wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where

“ not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And to
“ speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all
“ duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found
“ in Anne Boleyn: With which name and place I could
“ willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace’s
“ pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time
“ so far forget myself in my exaltation or received queen-
“ ship, but that I always looked for such an alteration
“ as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being
“ on no surer foundation than your grace’s fancy, the least
“ alteration I knew was fit and sufficient to draw that
“ fancy to some other object. You have chosen me from
“ a low estate to be your queen and companion, far be-
“ yond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy
“ of such honor; good your grace let not any light fancy,
“ or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely
“ favor from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy
“ stain, of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever
“ cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the
“ infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king, but
“ let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies
“ sit as my accusers and judges; yea let me receive an
“ open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame; then
“ shall you see either mine innocence cleared, your sus-
“ picion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slan-
“ der of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared.
“ So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me,
“ your grace may be freed from an open censure, and
“ mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at
“ liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute
“ worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to
“ follow your affection, already settled on that party, for
“ whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some
“ good while since have pointed unto, your grace not being
“ ignorant of my suspicion therein.

“ But if you have already determined of me, and that
“ not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring
“ you the enjoying of your desired happiness; then I desire

“ of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein,
“ and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof,
“ and that he will not call you to a strict account for your
“ unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judg-
“ ment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly
“ appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not (whatsoever
“ the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be
“ openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

“ My last and only request shall be, that myself may
“ only bear the burden of your grace’s displeasure, and
“ that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor
“ gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait
“ imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favor
“ in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath
“ been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this re-
“ quest, and I will so leave to trouble your grace any
“ further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have
“ your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all
“ your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower,
“ this sixth of May;

“ Your most loyal and ever faithful wife,

“ ANNE BOLEYN. ”

NOTE [H], p. 261. —

A Proposal had formerly been made in the convocation for the abolition of the lesser monasteries; and had been much opposed by bishop Fisher, who was then alive. He told his brethren, that this was fairly showing the king the way, how he might come at the greater monasteries. “ An ax,” said he, “ which wanted a handle, came upon a time into the wood, making his moan to the great trees, that he wanted a handle to work withal, and for that cause he was constrained to sit idle; therefore he made it his request to them, that they would be pleased to grant him one of their small saplings within the wood to make him a handle; who, mistrusting no guile, granted him one of their smaller trees to make him a

“ handle. But now becoming a complete ax, he fell so
 “ to work, within the same wood, that, in process of
 “ time, there was neither great nor small trees to be found
 “ in the place, where the wood stood. And so, my lords,
 “ if you grant the king these smaller monasteries, you do
 “ but make him a handle, whereby, at his own pleasure,
 “ he may cut down all the cedars within your Lebanons.”
 Dr. Bailie’s life of bishop Fisher, p. 108.

NOTE [I], p. 279.

THERE is a curious passage, with regard to the suppression of monasteries, to be found in Coke’s *institutes*, 4th Inst. chap. 1. p. 44. It is worth transcribing, as it shows the ideas of the English government, entertained during the reign of Henry VIII. and even in the time of Sir Edward Coke, when he wrote his *Institutes*. It clearly appears, that the people had then little notion of being jealous of their liberties, were desirous of making the crown quite independent, and wished only to remove from themselves, as much as possible, the burthens of government. A large standing army, and a fixed revenue, would, on these conditions, have been regarded as great blessings; and it was owing entirely to the prodigality of Henry, and to his little suspicion that the power of the crown could ever fail, that the English owe all their present liberty. The title of the chapter in Coke is, *Advice concerning new and plausible Projects and Offers in Parliament*. “ When any plausible project,” says he, “ is
 “ made in parliament, to draw the lords and commons
 “ to assent to any act, (especially in matters of weight
 “ and importance) if both houses do give upon the matter
 “ projected and promised their consent, it shall be most
 “ necessary, they being trusted for the commonwealth, to
 “ have the matter projected and promised (which moved
 “ the houses to consent) to be established in the same act,
 “ lest the benefit of the act be taken, and the matter projected and promised never performed, and so the houses

“ of parliament perform not the trust reposed in them,
“ as it fell out (taking one example for many) in the reign
“ of Henry the eighth: On the king’s behalf, the members
“ of both houses were informed in parliament, that no
“ king or kingdom was safe, but where the king had three
“ abilities; 1. To live of his own, and able to defend his
“ kingdom upon any sudden invasion or insurrection. 2 To
“ aid his confederates, otherwise they would never assist
“ him. 3. To reward his well deserving servants. Now
“ the project was, that if the parliament would give unto
“ him all the abbies, priories, friaries, nunneries, and
“ other monasteries, that, for ever in time then to come,
“ he would take order that the same should not be con-
“ verted to private uses: but first, that his exchequer for
“ the purposes aforesaid should be enriched; secondly, the
“ kingdom strengthened by a continual maintenance of
“ forty thousand well-trained soldiers, with skilful cap-
“ tains and commanders; thirdly, for the benefit and ease
“ of the subject, who never afterwards, (as was projected)
“ in any time to come, should be charged with subsidies,
“ fifteenths, loans, or other common aids; fourthly, lest
“ the honor of the realm should receive any diminution
“ of honor by the dissolution of the said monasteries,
“ there being twenty-nine lords of parliament of the abbots
“ and priors, (that held of the king *per baroniam*, where-
“ of more in the next leaf) that the king would create
“ a number of nobles, which we omit. The said monasteries
“ were given to the king by authority of divers acts of par-
“ liament, but no provision was therein made for the said
“ project, or any part thereof.”

NOTE [K], p. 292.

COLLIER, in his ecclesiastical history, vol. ii. p. 152.
has preserved an account which Cromwel gave of this con-
ference, in a letter to Sir Thomas Wyatt, the king’s am-
bassador in Germany. “ The king’s majesty,” says Cromwel,
“ for the reverence of the holy sacrament of the altar, did

“ sit openly in his hall, and there presided at the disputa-
 “ tion, process and judgment of a miserable heretic sacra-
 “ mentary, who was burned the 20th of November. It
 “ was a wonder to see how princely, with how excellent
 “ gravity, and inestimable majesty his highness exercised
 “ there the very office of supreme head of the church of
 “ England. How benignly his grace essayed to convert
 “ the miserable man: How strong and manifest reasons
 “ his highness alledged against him. I wish the princes
 “ and potentates of Christendom to have had a meet place
 “ to have seen it. Undoubtedly they should have much
 “ marvelled at his majesty’s most high wisdom and judgment,
 “ and reputed him no otherwise after the same, than in
 “ a manner the mirror and light of all other kings and
 “ princes in Christendom.” It was by such flatteries,
 that Henry was engaged to make his sentiments the standard
 to all mankind; and was determined to enforce, by the
 severest penalties, his *strong* and *manifest* reasons for tran-
 substantiation.

NOTE [L], p. 295.

THERE is a story, that the duke of Norfolk, meeting,
 soon after this act was passed, one of his chaplains, who
 was suspected of favoring the reformation, said to him,
 “ Now, Sir, what think you of the law to hinder priests
 “ from having wives?” “ Yes, my lord,” replies the
 chaplain, “ you have done that; but I will answer for
 “ it, you cannot hinder men’s wives from having priests.”

NOTE [M], p. 314.

TO show how much Henry sported with law and com-
 mon sense; how servilely the parliament followed all his
 caprices; and how much both of them were lost to all sense
 of shame; an act was passed this session, declaring, that
 a precontract should be no ground for annulling a marriage;

as if that pretext had not been made use of both in the case of Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves. But the king's intention in this law is said to be a design of restoring the princess Elizabeth to her right of legitimacy; and it was his character never to look farther than the present object, without regarding the inconsistency of his conduct. The parliament made it high treason to deny the dissolution of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves. Herbert.

NOTE [N], p. 329.

IT was enacted by this parliament, that there should be trial of treason in any county where the king should appoint by commission. The statutes of treason had been extremely multiplied in this reign; and such an expedient saved trouble and charges in trying that crime. The same parliament erected Ireland into a kingdom; and Henry henceforth annexed the title of king of Ireland to his other titles. This session, the commons first began the practice of freeing any of their members, who were arrested, by a writ issued by the speaker. Formerly it was usual for them to apply for a writ from chancery to that purpose. This precedent increased the authority of the commons, and had afterwards important consequences. Hollingshed, p. 955, 956. Baker, p. 289.

NOTE [O], p. 340.

THE persecutions, exercised during James's reign, are not to be ascribed to his bigotry, a vice, of which he seems to have been as free as Francis the first or the emperor Charles, both of whom, as well as James, showed, in different periods of their lives, even an inclination to the new doctrines. The extremities, to which all these princes were carried, proceeded entirely from the situation of affairs, during that age, which rendered it impossible

for them to act with greater temper or moderation, after they had embraced the resolution of supporting the ancient establishments. So violent was the propensity of the times towards innovation, that a bare toleration of the new preachers was equivalent to a formed design of changing the national religion.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.



8° 4,

Hume

